

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1893.

## The Week.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S inaugural address was brief and directly to the point on all the subjects to which he addressed himself. These are subjects which immediately concern the well-being and progress of the nation. Mr. Cleveland affirms his purpose, so far as it rests with him, to carry out the will of the people as expressed in the election, not in any rash or destructive way, but firmly and consistently. The tariff is to be reformed in the interest of the masses of the people, and the Trusts and combines are to be curbed in so far as the Federal power can reach them. Of more immediate interest are Mr. Cleveland's remarks on the currency question. He says that all his efforts will be directed to the prevention of any debasement or depreciation of the standard of value, and that he will use, without hesitation, all the powers confided to him by law to that end. While seeking remedial measures, however, he will not approach them in any spirit of intolerance. On the subject of the civil service his declarations are in harmony with those which he made before the election. The tone of the address throughout was strikingly serious and elevated, and nothing like it has been heard from the lips of any President since Lincoln's second inaugural address.

Not the least suggestive greeting which comes to Mr. Cleveland on his return to the Presidency is from Chili. The President of that republic sent a personal cablegram to him, of which the following is the opening sentence:

"The Government of Chili and the Chilean people, recognizing your political attitude in the past, consider that your reelection as Chief Magistrate of the United States is a pledge that your Government will preserve the tranquillity and well-being of all nations upon the American Continent."

Republicans may see in this a covert allusion to the brutal treatment of Chili by Mr. Harrison, only a little over a year ago; but if they do, it will, of course, be a great source of pride and comfort to them. They are happiest when hated. In their eyes the country never appears so glorious as when dreaded and distrusted by weak foreign nations, and so they will be quick to interpret it as a sure sign of national humiliation that the Chileans now expect a policy of justice and forbearance in foreign affairs to be inaugurated at Washington.

The last monthly Treasury statement to which a Republican Secretary signs his name shows that the Treasury gold has

reached the lowest point since the resumption of specie payments. Above the \$100,000,000 reserve required by law, Mr. Foster can show but \$3,284,218, and that sum would be wiped out twice over if he were called upon to repay to the banks the gold they kindly loaned him. Thus the surplus and the gold balance disappear with the Republican Administration. Mr. Harrison is reported to be considerably set up over his escape from the dire necessity of an issue of bonds. Whether his Administration will be more glorious in history for not having issued bonds than it would be if it had manfully faced the situation and issued them, when the best financial opinion of the country was demanding such a step, we very much doubt. It is probable that the historian, unless he is stupid beyond the average, will be able to see as clearly as everybody does now that Mr. Harrison was grasping at the shadow when the substance was gone. The fact that everybody knows this, that there has been no secrecy about the embarrassments of the Treasury, and that bankers and financiers of the highest repute have openly acknowledged the critical situation of affairs, makes Mr. Harrison's affectation of ignorance of any trouble little short of ludicrous. He appears to think it possible to make the country believe that, in the interval between his locking of the Treasury and Mr. Cleveland's unlocking it, vast changes in the Government's balance-sheet have taken place.

The clause of the Sundry Civil Bill known as the Sherman Bond Amendment was dropped in order to save the bill itself from defeat, as it became evident that the silverites in the House would adopt filibustering tactics against the bill if the conferees should report in favor of this section. The subject is therefore left where it was in the beginning, except that we have the opinion of a decided majority of the Senate that the power to issue bonds for the purpose of maintaining the \$100,000,000 gold reserve exists, but that the bonds ought to bear a lower rate of interest than was fixed in the Specie Resumption Act of 1875. The fact was brought out in the Senate debate last week that both Secretary Foster and his successor, Mr. Carlisle, were consulted in the framing of the Sherman amendment, and that both of them approved of it; but merely on the ground that the rate of interest fixed in the law of 1875 was too high. There is a precedent for lowering the rate of interest on bonds of the United States without any law of Congress, this act having been performed by Secretary Windom at the beginning of the Garfield Administration. Mr. Wayne MacVeagh, the Attorney-General, gave an opinion that the outstanding 5 per cent. bonds, which had

matured, might be extended, at the option of the United States (there being no money in the Treasury to pay them off), at any rate of interest less than 5 per cent. The whole outstanding issue was accordingly extended at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 per cent., and nobody ever questioned either the legality or the expediency of the step. These were bonds actually outstanding; but if the power to issue bonds under the Act of 1875 is a continuing power, then the power to issue them at a lower rate of interest and for a shorter time than the rates and times fixed in the act exists also under the Windom-MacVeagh precedent. We have no doubt that the courts would sustain the power in both particulars if the case were ever brought before them. If the Secretary of the Treasury should decide that there was an emergency calling for the issue of such bonds, it is certain that no court would ever enjoin him. Nor would any court ever enjoin the payment of bonds so issued, either principal or interest.

It is gratifying to record that the Anti-Option Bill has met its death in the present Congress, and that means that there will be no resurrection for it in any coming Congress. Like the free-silver craze, it seemed to carry everything before it for a time, but it lost strength with every day's debate, so that on March 2, instead of being able to muster twenty-five votes more than a two-thirds majority, as it did when it originally passed the House, it had twenty-five less than two-thirds. This loss of fifty votes shows that the gas is escaping from the balloon, and that its total collapse is imminent. It is not necessary to go over the reasons we have so often brought forward in opposition to this bill. The relief which its defeat at once brought to the produce exchanges, where higher prices were immediately recorded, shows how exact was the description of the bill by one of its opponents, who called it a "Bill to Compel Farmers to take Lower Prices." The failure of the measure leaves Senator Sherman once more on exhibition as the statesman whose convictions are most conspicuously at the disposal of any body of men who can manage to put "pressure" on him. He voted for the Anti-Option Bill doubting its constitutionality, and protesting that he believed it incapable of doing what it proposed to do, but alleging that he could not afford to disoblige certain political farmers of his acquaintance. In refreshing contrast to his ingrained disposition to grovel before ignorance, provided it has a vote, is the outspoken attitude of the new Secretary of Agriculture, who said, while the bill was still pending with a good chance of passing: "The Anti-Option Bill of Senator Washburn, instead of doing the

farmer any good, would result in, his injury." Mr. Sterling Morton was far from admitting that the farmer is necessarily a miracle of wisdom. On the contrary, he maintained that many of the farmer's "peculiar ideas" "need changing," and that "he needs saving from economic fallacies."

The good news comes from Washington that the bill which enables the Secretary of the Treasury to throw open to the architects of the country the designing of public buildings has become a law. This measure was drawn up by the American Institute of Architects, and was passed by the House at the first session of the last Congress. It was laid over in the Senate till shortly before final adjournment, but was then taken up and passed, and was approved by President Harrison. What its enactment means to the architecture of the country is that henceforth all the architectural talent of the nation will be at the disposal of the Secretary of the Treasury in the designing of public buildings. Under the old system all plans for such buildings were nominally designed by the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, but as the number of such buildings in process of construction at one time was frequently as large as 300, it was a physical impossibility for him to do more than a fraction of the work. The consequence has been that his clerks have been pressed into service to design buildings which ought to have commanded the best expert architectural talent. Under the new law the Secretary of the Treasury is given the discretionary power to obtain plans and specifications and local supervision for public buildings by the system of competition among private architects. While not mandatory, the law authorizes him to employ the architects whose plans are approved to superintend the construction of buildings. The duties and responsibilities of the Supervising Architect remain the same as formerly, except that he is relieved of the work of preparing drawings and specifications and superintending the immediate construction of public buildings. He is to have charge, as before, of the receipt of proposals, the award of contracts, and the disbursement of moneys. This means that our public buildings will henceforth be as great a credit and ornament to the country as those of the Chicago Fair, provided the Secretary of the Treasury uses his power wisely.

The report of the Congressional Committee appointed to investigate the American end of the Panama scandal is a distinct refusal to follow the trail just when it was getting fresh. It runs off for the most part on the blind scent of the squabbles between the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the Panama Railroad. Very few people care anything about that parti-

cular bit of wrangling, but almost everybody would like to know what became of the \$4,000,000 spent in this country by the Canal Company. On this point the Committee lamely says:

"The Committee has been unable thus far to trace directly or indirectly the expenditure of any money whatever in a corrupt way to influence the legislative or executive action of the United States Government. It may be that no investigation, however prolonged, after this lapse of time, could be efficient in making such discovery, even if such corrupt use of money was made, but on this subject the Committee does not desire authoritatively to express the opinion that further investigation would be entirely fruitless."

This is cool enough in face of the fact that Mr. Seligman testified in this city that his books would show to whom the Panama money had been paid. No sooner had the Committee heard this than, though professing a great desire to see those books, they were recalled to Washington by urgent business, and have not since found time to come back again. For less lukewarmness than this in exposing fraud a French Government was overthrown. Are we never to know how much it cost to draw the fangs of the Monroe Doctrine during those critical years, or who were the men superintending the operation? Such dentistry not only comes high, but also requires great skill, and the public is entitled to know who the expert operators were. We hope that Col. Fellows's eagerness to expose corruption will not expire with this Congress, but that he will take up the chase again in the next Congress, and not get frightened on coming too close to the bear.

One of the Hawaiian Commissioners has a long article in the *North American Review* in favor of American annexation, but a busy man can save a great deal of time by reading only one page, as that contains the gist of the whole. Mr. Thurston shows that McKinley was the author of all Hawaii's woes, as, by the free admission of sugar, his tariff bill "cut off all protection at one stroke" "from the \$25,000,000 of American capital invested" in the Islands. He goes on:

"The price of sugar belonging to Americans in Hawaii was reduced in round numbers from \$90 to \$50 a ton. The same amount of sugar produced in Hawaii that sold for \$12,159,048 in 1890, will sell for only \$6,963,504 in 1892, a reduction of \$5,195,544, or 42 2-3 per cent., and the effect has been to reduce the selling price to, or less than, the cost of production, on all but a few of the most favorably located plantations. With rare exceptions, plantation stock is unsalable. It is inevitable that, if present conditions continue, an immense amount of capital invested, not only in sugar, but in industries subordinate to and dependent thereon, will be lost, and that all values at the Islands will suffer seriously."

The noble stand for free institutions made by the Americans in Hawaii, and their heroic determination to have nothing more to do with a "heathen and sorcerous reaction," are made clearer in the above, by at least 42 2-3 per cent., than in anything else the Hawaiian Commissioners have said or done.

The regulations which Surgeon-General Wyman, acting under the new Quarantine Law, has drawn up for enforcement at foreign ports of departure for this country, are well calculated to stop the advance of cholera or other epidemic disease at such ports. They require, among other things, that cabin passengers and steerage passengers shall be subjected to different treatment, as is only proper and just, since all authorities agree in the opinion that it is almost solely by means of the latter that infectious diseases are brought into the country. Each cabin passenger must produce satisfactory evidence as to his place of abode for four days previous to embarkation, and, if he has been exposed to contagion, will be detained for a term to be fixed by the inspector, and his baggage disinfected. Steerage passengers shipping from an infected port are to be detained five days under medical observation in specially provided quarters; they are to be bathed at the beginning of the five days' term and provided with disinfected clothing. If cholera should break out among them while under observation, none of them will be allowed to embark for the United States until at least seven days have elapsed since the conclusion of the last case. There were journalistic commentators last summer who held that there must be no discrimination made between cabin and steerage passengers; that all must be treated as equally dangerous to the public health, and, if necessary, must be left together indefinitely, or till all had caught the cholera and had died. This barbaric view is not embodied in Surgeon-General Wyman's regulations. Neither is the other view of last summer about the duration of quarantine for cholera-infected ships, for the regulations declare that a "vessel arriving at any United States port with cases of contagion aboard shall be detained for a period ranging from five days to twenty days, the latter only where typhus fever prevails."

The adjournment of the Montana Legislature without the choice of a United States Senator deprives the Democrats, for the next two years at least, of a seat which they ought to have gained; as the Legislature of the State meets biennially. The Governor is a Republican, and has appointed a Republican to fill the place until the next Legislature meets, while the Democratic Governor of Wyoming has appointed a Democrat to represent that State until another Legislature is convened. In Washington the squabbling over the seat among the Republican factions promises to continue until the Legislature adjourns, when a Republican will be appointed by the Governor. Questions will be raised as to the legality of all such appointments by a Governor after the Legislature which ought to elect has failed to do so, and there are precedents on both sides; but it seems probable that the appointees will be admitted. The credentials of John Mar-

tin as the new Senator from Kansas were presented on Saturday, and as they were in due form, he was admitted to be entitled, *prima facie*, to a seat, Mr. Hoar remarking that, if there were any question as to his title upon the merits, the Senate could deal with it afterwards. As nobody else so far presents any claim to the seat, and as the idea of electing any one else seems to have been given up, it appears probable that Mr. Martin will retain the seat.

If the Democratic Senator from Kansas remains, and the three other vacancies are filled by Republicans from Montana and Washington, and one Democrat from Wyoming, the body will contain, during the first half of Mr. Cleveland's Administration, forty-five Democrats, thirty-nine Republicans, and four Populists, counting as the latter Peffer of Kansas, Allen of Nebraska, Stewart of Nevada, and Kyle of South Dakota. This will give the Democrats a clear majority of the eighty-eight members with all the Populists voting against them, so that the Vice-President will not be called upon for his casting vote. On the tariff issue, however, the Populists will vote with the Democrats, and very likely, also Pettigrew, the South Dakota Republican who stood out against the McKinley Bill in 1890. In any event the Democrats are sure to control the upper as well as the lower branch of Congress, which was in every way to be desired.

Mr. Gladstone's fine statesmanship was again vindicated in the House of Commons last week when Mr. Meysey-Thompson, a member of the English bimetallic group, moved that the Government should do something to bring about a reassembling of the Brussels Monetary Conference. Mr. Gladstone was quite right in replying that, since the Conference had been called at the instance of the United States, it would be an unprecedented proceeding for England now to take the initiative away from the country that rightfully held it. These words, in the mouth of Lord Salisbury or the late Lord Beaconsfield, might be taken for sarcasm—very much like saying that America is holding a hot poker, and that it would show great want of politeness for any other country to take it out of her hands. Mr. Gladstone, however, is not wont to indulge in sarcasm touching foreign countries, and least of all our country. So we are not at liberty to suppose that he intended anything more than he said. The United States really did take the initiative in this Conference, and is bound by all rules to hold it to the end. It happens that there is absolutely no competition for the honor of first place at the Conference. Our own delegates realize this fact more painfully than any others. All the rest can say, as Mr. Gladstone does, "We have followed the discussions of the Brussels Conference

with more or less sympathy, and should like to know what step the United States proposes to take next." What those steps are the United States does not know, and for that reason, probably, will not put England or any other country to the trouble of coming to Brussels again.

Exclusive of Mr. Farmer-Atkinson's burlesque contest at Derby against Sir William Vernon Harcourt's return after the latter's acceptance of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, fifteen British seats have been contested since Parliament met last August. Of these, seven showed Gladstonian and eight Unionist gains. Looked at in another way; however, the outcome of these struggles has given considerable encouragement to the supporters of the present Ministry. The aggregate poll in these fifteen places gave the Unionists but 3,500 more votes than they received in July, while the Gladstonians added no less than 5,500 to their midsummer strength, and that, too, in spite of the fact that a labor candidate at Halifax drew off 3,000 votes. The extent and the variety of the work outlined in the Queen's speech, and the comparative meagreness of the Government's majority in the Commons, make the net Liberal gain of two seats, counting four on a division, a most desirable addition to the Ministerial strength. In July the fifteen constituencies since contested returned nine Gladstonians and six Unionists. They are now represented by eleven of the former and by only four of the latter. The Opposition captured Huddersfield, where the Government candidate, a local employer of labor, was not popular among the more radical element of the workingmen. On the other hand, at Walsall and in the Hexham Division of Northumberland, for each of which constituencies the anti-home-rule candidate returned in July was unseated by the judges upon petition, because of the illegal practices of which his agent had been guilty, and at Pontefract, vacated by the accession of its Conservative member to a peerage, the Gladstonians carried the day. Moreover, all but one of the places contested were in England, in which the Unionist sentiment is stronger than in either Wales or Scotland.

But little if at all less important than the Ministerial gains in Great Britain is the failure of the Parnellites to capture the seats for either of the divisions of the County Meath vacated upon petition, filed at their instance, because of the spiritual intimidation practised by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese and his priests in connection with the July election. In South Meath, at the general election, the anti-Parnellite candidate was returned by only 83 majority; and while in North Meath the majority was greater, a part of it was probably due to the exceptional popularity of the Nationalist

candidate, Michael Davitt, who, under the law, having been unseated, was ineligible to stand for the same constituency again. A Parnellite success in either of these divisions would have put new life and spirit into that faction, and might have tempted its leaders to play tricks with the Home-Rule Bill, which they are now, perhaps, not likely to essay. As we go to press, the gain of a seat by the Liberal-Unionists at Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, England, is announced.

Whatever may be said of the attempts of the English parties to outbid each other for the labor vote, it cannot be denied that the new Department of Labor, organized by Mr. Mundella, the President of the Board of Trade, promises to yield valuable results to the student and the statistician, whether it pleases the workingmen or not. Mr. Giffen, an ideal appointment, is to be the Director-General of the Department, which is to have three divisions, relating to trade, labor, and statistics respectively. The labor division is to be under the charge of Mr. Llewellyn Smith, well known for his work among the poor in London in connection with the University Settlements. Several elaborate investigations are already planned, among them being inquiries respecting the causes of irregular and half-time employment, the economic effects of immigration and the different methods of paying wages, the labor of women and children, etc. Annual reports are to be published, and cannot fail, under such competent direction, to make a distinct addition to our knowledge of the facts.

France has just completed a year's experience of her new high-protection régime, and the results are far from satisfactory to her McKinleys. Even counting in the enormous imports of January a year ago, made in anticipation of the new tariff, the record for the year 1892 shows a falling off of over 7 per cent. in importations. Exports have fallen away but a little, although in manufactured articles there was a loss of \$5,000,000. But the greatest evils have been felt in the disarrangement of business and in the disturbances wrought in the public revenue. For some time the Government held out the hope of doing something to relieve the business embarrassments caused by the new tariff, in the way of commercial treaties, but these have come to little, and the distress in some parts of the country has been severe. Marseilles, for example, lost 20 per cent. of its maritime commerce in 1892. The revenue has been millions of francs away from the estimates, and, altogether, the Méline tariff has proved itself about as ingenious an instrument for business upheaval and financial derangement as its fellow, the McKinley Bill. The worst of it is that, with the former as with the latter, its evil effects grow worse with time.

## THE CLOSE OF AN EPOCH.

WITH the outgoing of the Harrison Administration closes an epoch in our history which has covered the lifetime of a generation. On the 4th of March, 1861, the Republican party came into full control of both the executive and legislative departments of the Government. From that time until the 4th of March, 1893, there has not been a day on which the Republican party has failed to hold either the Presidency or one or other branch of Congress. The Democrats had majorities in both the Senate and the House from 1879 to 1881, but a Republican was President. A Democrat was President from 1885 to 1889, but the Senate was Republican through his entire term. The election of Cleveland in 1884 was the defeat by Republicans of an unfit Republican candidate for the Presidency, and did not signify the nation's endorsement of the Democratic party. For a third of a century the Republican party has held control of the Government to such an extent that no law could be passed without its favor or repealed without its consent.

On the 4th of March, 1893, the Democratic party came into full control of the Government. Not only has it elected its President by a majority of the electoral votes for which there are scarcely any precedents in our history, but it will control both the House of Representatives and the Senate—although the latter was supposed to be "packed" against it for many years by the admission of new States. Any line of policy upon which the party is united can therefore be carried out; any act of Republican parentage which it wishes to repeal can be wiped out. For the first time since Buchanan's day there is no check to the rule of Democracy.

The extraordinary epoch under review has witnessed the rise, the gradual demoralization, and the fall of a most powerful political organization. The Republican party called itself, with reason, "the party of great moral ideas." It was built up by the moral forces of the nation, and during its early years there was a strong infusion of religious fervor in its support. There was, as Seward pointed out in 1853, "an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces," and it seemed to many people as clearly a conflict between moral right and wrong as that between Christianity and paganism. There was a spirit of unselfish devotion in the rank and file while the slavery issue was dominant such as has seldom been equalled in party divisions. The cause developed great leaders—men whose services have come to be regarded with respect and admiration by their old opponents; one who has already taken rank beside Washington for his patriotism and statesmanship. Well might Republicans afterwards "point with pride" to the fact that their party had been the party of Abraham Lincoln.

The success of the Republican party sowed the seeds of its overthrow. It at once attracted to itself the ambitious self-seekers, the men who wanted offices rather than the triumph of great principles, those who were "on the make" in politics, and who saw nothing to hope for from the discomfited Democracy. An era of corruption set in which was pictured in vivid terms by George F. Hoar of Massachusetts in his speech on the impeachment of Gen. Belknap, Secretary of War under Grant, May 6, 1876, when he said, among other things:

"My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of Senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have seen the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent and uniting the two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed, by men grown old in public office, that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President."

The seating of Hayes in 1877 gave Republicanism a new lease of the power which it had really forfeited, and the incompetency of Democracy in 1880 enabled it to continue in control. But the moral forces were steadily ebbing, and the material elements as steadily gathering strength, until they compelled the nomination of Blaine in 1884 and lost the party the Presidency. The distrust of the party which had sustained slavery was still so strong, however, that even in 1888 the country was not quite prepared to reflect Cleveland as a Democratic President. Republicanism was given, "by hook or by crook," another chance for life. The Harrison Administration showed that the party no longer deserved to live. It sought to revive the dying sectional issue by pushing a most obnoxious Force Bill, and it introduced as a new party dogma the doctrine that the Government should be carried on for the benefit of protected interests in the North, as formerly for the benefit of slaveholders at the South. Between them Harrison, McKinley, and Lodge showed the country that the Republican party only cumbered the ground. As soon as the people got a chance, they made short work of it.

When the Senate refused to pass the Force Bill, Senator Hoar remarked, "That means the death of the Republican party." He was right, in the sense that the Republican party as an organization founded on the slavery issue no longer had any excuse for existence. Even Harrison, narrow-minded

ed partisan that he usually is, showed at last a comprehension of the fact when he gave a vacant seat on the Supreme bench to a Southern Democrat who once defended slavery and supported the Confederacy, but who now rejoices that the nation is reunited in freedom. It was an ideal close of a memorable epoch, and a fitting recognition of a new "era of good feeling," out of which are to come new parties—whether or not the old names survive.

## PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S FIRST WORK.

NOTHING can be more important at this juncture than the order in which the new President will take up his various duties. It would seem at first blush, in view of the discussions of the past four years, and especially of the last two years, as if there was nothing about which there could be less doubt than this order. If there be room for any doubt at all, it would seem to be doubt simply about the time at which he would call on Congress to begin the revision of the tariff. That his first concern should be the national credit and currency all admit; but there is some difference of opinion among his supporters on the point whether he should ask Congress to go to work on the tariff now or next autumn. Probably nine-tenths of those who voted for him in preference to any other possible Democratic candidate would, if now consulted, say that these two topics—the rehabilitation of the Treasury and the reform of the tariff—should engage the main part of his attention from March 4 until the wrongs which were condemned by the elections of 1890 and 1892 are as nearly righted as circumstances will allow.

There are many signs, however, already, that the other tenth is by no means of this way of thinking, and there is much reason to fear that during the next three months nearly all the advice the new President will have to listen to will come from this tenth, and from this tenth alone. The probabilities are, judging from the experience of previous Presidents, including Mr. Cleveland himself, that the nine-tenths, as soon as they see him safely installed in the White House, will turn to their ordinary avocations, discharge their minds of politics to a considerable extent, and leave him to wrestle with the other tenth as best he can. This tenth, too, will not turn to its ordinary avocations even if it have any. It will stay in and about Washington from March 4 on. Far from ceasing to talk politics, it will talk more politics than ever. Far from leaving the President to his own devices, it will submit for his selection a large assortment of devices of its own. It will throw aside the fear inspired by his warning last fall that he would put a black mark against the name of any one who approached him for office-seeking purposes, for it will say that he was then a private citizen, and had a right to defend himself against such importunity, but that he is now what Burke called

"a public creature" and lawful game. It will say to him that his first business is neither to reform the currency, nor to confirm the public credit, nor to take up the threads of foreign policy, nor to weed the public service of the incompetent and dishonest, but to clear out the Republicans from the non-classified service and put Democrats in their places.

The signs of this are already numerous. A letter from Boston was printed the other day showing that the Democratic "workers" of that State were already preparing a fortnight ago for an anticipated sack of the public offices for their own benefit, and were revealing with a certain cheerfulness the fact that, although they took during the canvass a considerable interest in tariff and other reform, nevertheless, in their opinion, what won the day for Mr. Cleveland was the general expectation that there would be no failure to treat the non-classified service as spoils of victory. We ourselves printed last week a letter from Louisville showing the same attitude on the part of the Democratic politicians of Kentucky. News reaches us, too, from various cities and towns, of the preparation of petitions and "pressure" in favor of a change in the post-offices for the benefit of some local worthies who have never in their life had any connection with any post-office. The following, for instance, comes to us from Chicago:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A local paper states that a monster petition, with 50,000 signatures, will be forwarded to President-elect Cleveland to have him appoint Frank Lawler Postmaster of Chicago. Among the signers are 5,000 business men, and among these may be found the names of thirty bank presidents, all the packers, seventy-four insurance companies, etc. Mr. Lawler is an ex-saloon-keeper, an ex-Alderman, and (to his credit be it said) an ex-Congressman. Presumably he bases his claims on his active participation in politics. What his particular qualifications for the office he aspires to are I have not been able to find out. In fact, nobody hereabouts seems, on inquiry, to have discovered any. Nor has any one vouchsafed any kind of information as to his business training, which ought to be considered when an office demanding high executive ability is to be bestowed. Would any of the thirty bank presidents who petition for Lawler give him a position of responsibility or trust in his bank? Or do these representative men imagine dabbling in politics renders unnecessary the ordinary preparations for the successful management of business affairs?

If any of the 5,000 business men can convince me that I have taken a hypercritical view of the situation, or misjudged the applicant, let him come forward. In that case I shall at once offer a devout peccavi. F.

The design of all such movements is plain enough: it is to cause President Cleveland and his new Cabinet to occupy themselves, as in 1885, and as President Harrison occupied himself and his Cabinet in 1889, for three months in a general substitution of employees of one party for employees of another party in the public service, not with reference to fitness or unfitness, but with reference to electioneering claims. This spectacle has, we might almost say unluckily, been witnessed only twice since 1860, owing to the steady hold on power given to the Republicans by the war. Had there been a change of parties

at every Presidential election since then, a repetition of the practice would before now have been made impossible by an outburst of popular indignation and ridicule. No great people could allow their government to be seven times in thirty years put through the process to which Clarkson subjected this Government, in the eyes of the world, in 1889, with such idiotic gibberings of pride and delight. Had people witnessed it in 1869, 1873, and 1877, it would not have been repeated later.

It cannot be repeated now, for a variety of reasons. The first and foremost is that Mr. Cleveland is pledged to treat public offices, as far as human diligence will permit, as public trusts, and therefore not rightfully awardable to any but the reasonably fit. In fact, the restoration of fitness to its old place in the American civil service, as a principle of selection, is part, and a large part, of Mr. Cleveland's mission. This applies to the non-classified as well as the classified civil service. The law of the land does not lay on the appointing officer the same compulsion with regard to the former as with regard to the latter, but the moral law does. It is a wrong to give any man an office for anybody's good but, for the good of the community, although the statute may not have forbidden it. Even Dr. Funk would probably admit this. To restore the public service to the people is, in fact, a part, and a large part, of the mission of the new Democratic party to-day. Another and hardly less powerful reason is that the order of importance of public business is settled, and well settled, in Mr. Cleveland's mind. The distribution of post-offices does not stand first, second, or third on the list. To give up the first months of his Administration to it, or allow his Cabinet to do so, would be very like the course of a newly elected bank president who should insist on taking the first quarter of his term to close out a small thread-and-needle business before entering on his real duties. Finally, Mr. Cleveland has, of course, taken note of the fact that, almost without exception, those who will urge him to occupy himself in making "sweeps" are the very men who thought his nomination unwise and his election impossible, and looked on the masterstrokes of his career as the acts of a lunatic. All their advice and all their demands, therefore, touching his exercise of the appointing power he may well receive with distrust or alarm. The more they insist on a thing as a bit of political shrewdness, the better reason will he have for putting it far from him.

NAVAL POLITICS.

CAPT. MAHAN is one of the most distinguished officers of the United States Navy, and perhaps the most distinguished writer on naval warfare in existence. His competence and authority are, in truth, as fully acknowledged in Europe as here. What he says in his recent article in the

*Forum*, therefore, on any matter within his special field, deserves the highest respect. When he points out the value which Hawaii would have to us as a coaling-station, in case we were a great naval Power at war with another great naval Power in the Pacific Ocean, and the annoyance which our possession of it would be, under such circumstances, to our rival or enemy, he speaks as a master. But his whole argument or dictum is based on the assumption that we are on the way to have a navy as large and powerful as the navies of France and England put together. He does not say this in express terms, but he *must* mean it. It is on this theory that England to-day establishes coaling-stations all over the world and guards the Suez Canal. The rule which regulates the size of the British Navy is that it must be as large as the combined navies of any other two naval Powers. It may not always attain this standard, but this is what the British Admiralty aims at, and it is on this assumption that the House of Commons votes the naval estimates. This makes the establishment of coaling-stations at remote points for military purposes perfectly reasonable. Naval coaling-stations are not places which are respected by an enemy as private property. They would, at once, on the outbreak of war, form the chief objects of attack. The more valuable they are to the owners, the more important it is to the enemy to destroy them or cut off communication with them. Nor is it sufficient that they should be so fortified as to resist a siege either by sea or land. To be of any use a coaling-station must be as accessible in war as in peace—that is, be so situated that it can put coal on board a cruiser without danger or difficulty. It is not an ornament, or a luxury, or a sign of national greatness. It is simply a place from which fuel for boiler fires can be safely and expeditiously obtained during the progress of hostilities. Therefore, it is plain to be seen that it is of no use for military purposes to any Power which does not command the surrounding seas, and cannot get coal from it easily, by driving and keeping away any enemy's vessels which seek to interfere with the operation. Coaling-stations are valuable to Great Britain because she maintains a navy on such a scale as to enable her not only to draw coal from them when she wants it, but to chase away any hostile vessels which should either try to coal there themselves or interfere with her coaling.

Interoceanic canals running through foreign territory come under the same rule. They can be of no use in time of war to any Power which cannot hold the seas at each end of them. Great Britain would attach no importance to the control of the Suez Canal in time of peace if she did not feel assured that she could in time of war keep the Mediterranean and Red Sea ends of it clear of all enemies who

might impede approach to it. So will it be with any canal which may eventually be made across the Isthmus of Panama, and with the canal now nearly completed across the Isthmus of Corinth. Any Power that wishes to enjoy the benefits of any one of them as a short cut in time of war, must have a fleet big enough to keep its enemies away from the entrance and exit. We are not now talking strategy or any abstruse science, but simply common sense. One has only to know what a coaling-station is, and what an inter-oceanic canal is, to see that for the full enjoyment of either of them a navy of the first rank is absolutely necessary. In other words, to make Hawaii of use to us as a coaling-station in a war with Great Britain, for instance—she being the Power which our naval men almost always have in mind when they are making their calculations—we must have a navy large enough not only to protect our coasting trade and our cities on the Atlantic and Pacific from the assaults of British cruisers, but to make British cruisers afraid to go near the Sandwich Islands. It will not do simply to fight them stoutly when they appear there, because coaling is an operation which cannot be carried on under fire. It needs peace and quiet and security; and enemies who are desirous of interfering with it have to be kept out of cannon shot by the simple unadulterated fear of being sunk or captured, if they come too close. The more valuable Honolulu will be to us, the more desirous the British will be to deprive us of the advantages of it, and the larger the force they will detach for that purpose; and as it is 2,000 miles distant, and as cable communication with it would be promptly cut when war broke out, we should, if it be as precious as Capt. Mahan says it is, have to keep on the spot a fleet which we could not spare unless we had a navy at least as large as that of Great Britain.

We should, therefore, in reading Capt. Mahan's account of the importance of Hawaii from a military point of view, feel assured that he meant us to have a very large navy, even if he did not also advocate a close imitation of England's general foreign policy during the past hundred and fifty years. He asks us, in terms, to follow England's example by such annexations of foreign territory and foreign populations as seem likely to promote certain undefined things which he calls national "influence" and national greatness, by securing naval predominance on the Pacific, or "the control of the Pacific," as he calls it. He declines to say that such a policy as he advocates of "securing outlying dependencies" would "need a navy equal to the largest now existing." But the only reason which he gives for refusing this conclusion is, that "a nation as far removed as our own from the bases of foreign naval strength may reasonably reckon upon the qualification that distance—not to

speak of complex European interests close at hand—impresses upon the exertion of naval strength." That is, reduced to simple English, we need not have so large a navy as England, in order to secure the control of the Pacific, because the Pacific is so far away from England. But this is a very curious observation for a naval writer to make. A naval war is never confined to one ocean or sea. When carried on between two first-class Powers, it vexes all the salt waters of the world. England would defend the Pacific on our Atlantic coast. She would menace Honolulu through Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and, in fact, along our whole line of coast from Maine to Texas. The war would rage wherever our flag waved or our "influence" extended. Our navy, in order to give our coast and our commerce reasonable security and save our dignity, would have to be at least as big as hers. A contest for maritime supremacy, such as some of our naval officers wish us to prepare for, would be necessarily a war of giants, a fight *à outrance*. It could not be a local war, a war with limited liability. Therefore we are warranted in concluding that, in spite of his reluctance to confess it, Capt. Mahan and a great many of his comrades do desire, and mean to get if they can, the largest and most powerful navy ever seen, and they want it not for reviews or parades, but to fight somebody. What effect this policy of general annexation, and general readiness to subjugate and dominate or control outside this continent would have on our domestic institutions, Captain Mahan does not consider at all; and yet this is to every American the one important point in his scheme. We propose hereafter to call his attention to it.

#### THE READING RECEIVERSHIP.

LATER information about the Reading receivership represents the causes as more involved than they were at first supposed to be. The old idea of a receivership still lingers in the public mind—that an action for that end should be begun before a court only in case of a total failure to meet obligations, and then only as a means of liquidating the affairs of a corporation. Hence, it used to be thought that a receivership was to be entered upon only as a last resort and as the beginning of liquidation or complete reorganization.

Within the last decade or so we have passed beyond this original theory. It was the late Mr. Jay Gould, we believe, who first developed the idea of a railway receivership until it became merely one of a series of strategic moves for the control of a great corporation or for some special financial result. In 1884 the Wabash Company was thrown into the hands of a receiver on its own motion. A few years afterwards, in a subsequent suit, Judge Treat, who granted the original petition, stated that he had had doubts about

the legality of the first proceeding, but that he was afterwards convinced of the correctness of the principle. The Judge also stated that the Supreme Court of the United States had affirmed the same doctrine of the right of a corporation to ask for a receivership, or to confess judgment in order that a receiver might be appointed on the application of other parties, if such appointment was shown to be for the interest of the company. Since that date there have been several instances of such strategic receiverships, and, as might have been expected, these have been successively appointed on contentions which have appeared of less and less real moment. Last July a receiver was asked for the East Tennessee Railway on the ground that it owed one of its chief stockholders a small sum of money, and that, though it had suffered no present harm, yet, if the company was not thus protected, nobody knew what might happen to it because of other Richmond Terminal complications. The company consented to the receivership as a commercial advantage to itself and to the party then in power. We need not censure the judge in this case, because, under the various precedents, he had not much room for hesitancy.

Now comes the Reading affair as a climax to the movement which is making of receiverships only a move in a game for important stakes. A number of Philadelphia men, for ambitious or speculative purposes, form a combination of certain coal-carrying roads. These gentlemen think they see their opportunity for a very big scheme. Favored by an exceptional winter and a large demand for coal at prices one dollar or more higher than former quotations, they decline to spend their large earnings for needed cars and engines and for property improvements which would enable the road to carry this traffic cheaply and easily, but instead use the revenues and credit of the company in pursuit of a New England will-of-the-wisp, and in purchase of terminals and property whose usefulness is at least in the future, but whose capital requirements are great. They officially declare all the contingent interest earned and proceed to borrow that money. Under this spreading out, and because of slipshod management in the financial and operating departments, it comes about that the Reading is straitened for ready cash. The Philadelphia set find themselves in difficulties. Foreseeing the result, they precipitate matters by themselves hastening the inevitable. A friend, whose third-preference interest in a few bonds has not been paid, petitions for a receiver. The smallness of his claim would have caused his statement to be unnoticed were it not for the fact that the Reading Company by its officers consents to the petition. Thus both parties before the court agree in their views and in their choice of receivers, whereupon the Judge appoints the individuals designated, the Presidents of the Reading and the Lehigh Valley,

with a Pennsylvania judge to sweeten the dose.

This brief sketch of Reading's recent history shows that the financial losses incurred through the downfall have not really caused a change of control. By the modern theory of receiverships, the old rulers are retained to carry on their plans. Thus the fiasco does not involve any of the questions which some of the newspapers have been discussing, such as the hostility of the general public toward a combination which has raised the price of coal; for the price of anthracite is not likely to be lower because of it. It is the stock and bondholders who are injured on account of the unsound management and speculative purposes of Mr. McLeod and his friends. The precedent, first set in the Wabash cases, of a company's managers planning a receivership to perpetuate their own control, is one fraught with power for good or ill to our corporations. We may assume that in certain cases the effects are good, but it requires no prophet to foresee that we are putting a dangerous weapon against investors and stockholders in the hands of an unscrupulous railway officer. A trumped-up or insignificant debt and a consenting president or vice-president (*vide* the Richmond and Danville case) may throw any corporation into a receiver's hands. In such a game, played for high stakes, the stock and bondholders must usually stand by and see their investments dissipated during the struggle. Fortunately the great majority of our railways are in no danger, but the speculative manager has a new power and the holder of his securities must face a new peril. It would help the matter if we had a statute delaying the appointment of a particular person as receiver for thirty days, meanwhile keeping the *status quo*.

#### THE ITALIAN BANK SCANDAL.

ITALY, February 18, 1893.

AFTER the arrest of Cuciniello, the Roman director of the branch Bank of Naples; of Tanlongo, the director, and of Cesare Lazzaroni, the cashier of the Roman Bank; then of Michele Lazzaroni, councillor of the same, nephew of Cesare, the judicial authorities possessed themselves of all the public and private papers belonging to the accused, and on the perusal of these it became evident that the frauds were not confined to mere bank officials, and that the receivers were worse than the thieves. The permanent chief of the Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Commendatore Monzilli, was arrested on the charge "of violating three articles of the Penal Code for having between February, 1888, and March, 1891, abetted the crimes of speculation and corruption committed by Tanlongo and Lazzaroni." Several letters of his to Tanlongo were found. In one of them he warns him of an approaching inspection of the banks—he himself being responsible for these inspections in ordinary times—and offers to feign illness if the director should wish the inspection delayed. Another employee of the department is also arrested, and the office, with all the papers, closed and sealed. But the worst feature of the case is

the alleged reception by Deputy De Zerbi of sums of money amounting to nearly half a million of lire in order to secure the passage of the bill for altering the law on the *riscontrato*, so especially desired by the director of the Roman Bank. On two occasions De Zerbi was Secretary of the Commission charged with the study of new regulations of the banks of issue.

As in Italy Senators and Deputies cannot be arrested without the consent of the respective Chambers, the Minister of Justice and Pardon made the formal demand, not for arrest, but for power to proceed against Rocco De Zerbi for crimes detailed in the Penal Code. The demand was discussed in the House soberly and sadly, and the permission granted; but De Zerbi, on account of illness, remains in his own house. As the papers justifying the demand were sent in, the Deputies got a sight of them, and, of course, the details were given to the press. From the letters found it is feared that De Zerbi not only received sums for himself, but distributed a portion of them to other members of the Commission. The law passed was precisely what the guilty bankers desired: it allowed the Government to "mitigate" the severity of the *riscontrato*, and later the Ministers Rudini and Luzzatti abolished it altogether.

Senator Boccardo, in an exhaustive article in the *Economist*, shows the extreme gravity of this abolition. When there exist in a country various banks of issue, each is, of course, obliged to receive the notes of the others; but this implies the necessity of a periodical and frequent settlement. There is no regular clearing-house in Italy. By the law of 1874 it was ordained that each bank should take back all the notes which another bank held, and restore those belonging to each, and pay the difference in case of excess. Say that the Roman bank held 10,000 notes of the National and the National held 11,000 of the Roman, the latter would have to refund the odd thousand in gold. Great opposition to this clearance had been manifested by several of the minor banks, but never had they succeeded in getting the regulation abolished. But the decree of August, 1891, did away with this safeguard, substituting the rule that, after the exchange of notes by the respective banks was effected, the bank holding a surplus of the notes of another bank might spend them in its own operations. This rule, writes Senator Boccardo, who is a recognized authority on such questions, "has wrought such serious modifications and has perturbed so profoundly the Italian banking system as to prepare the way for the disorders and scandals which now occupy the tribunals and the Parliament."

It is only fair to add that the partisans of Rudini and Luzzatti affirm that *all* the directors of the banks were summoned, and that all agreed in the desire to have the enforced settlement in cash abolished, and add that Boccardo is prejudiced by his mania for a single bank. Be that as it may, neither Luzzatti nor Rudini, in sending their bill to the Commission, ever for a moment dreamed that one or more of the Commissioners was in the pay of the Roman Bank. Should it be proved that only Rocco De Zerbi is guilty, the country will breathe more freely, since, while his versatile talent has secured him a tolerable fame in the newspaper world, he has never been esteemed by any party.

Coming to the rumors founded on what is said to be Tanlongo's defence, it is affirmed that he has deposed to having given money to successive Presidents of the Cabinet for the

elections; and a letter went the round of the papers, purporting to be written by Depretis, asking, on his own responsibility, for 500,000 lire, "to be spent for political purposes," and promising to repay it within a given period. That "fatal man," as Bertani dubbed him, was personally the pink of honesty, but probably no Minister ever spent more money in order to secure the election of members after his own heart than Agostino Depretis, the father of "Transformation." Tanlongo's assertion, however, deeply offended Rudini, who publicly demanded a Parliamentary inquiry. Crispi, who was confined to his bed at the time, curtly denied by letter the accusation as far as he was concerned.

The other rumors attribute to an august personage the repayment of sums to the Bank to save the credit of certain other personages; and, now that the inspection of all the banks is to be completed by the end of the month, patriots and lovers of Italy can only pray with bated breath that the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth shall be told to the nation. But before the legal trial ends, many things may happen to cast the banking scandals into oblivion. The Ministry, though supported by a large majority, is losing ground daily. Crispi, who, whether Deputy or Minister, has devoted his life to political questions in the main and to social questions in second line, is overwhelmed with grief and horror at these revelations. He admits frankly that, during his administration, he was aware of disorder in the Roman Bank—namely, that its paper circulation exceeded the legal limit in relation to its metallic reserve; that between the optimism of the Minister of Agriculture (pure, patriotic, but easily deceived Miceli, who trusted entirely to the ability of the chief of the department, Monzilli, now in prison), and the pessimism of Giolitti, Minister of the Treasury, he believed that they could restore order to the Roman Bank without disturbing public credit while he was preparing his bill for the "single bank of Italy," which was to purify and consolidate the whole banking system of the country; but the overthrow of his Government in the following January put an end to his hopes and plans. The question of the banks has now been raised in the Senate. Signor Giolitti pledges the Government to publish the report of the Commission on *all* the banks as soon as the inspection is terminated.

Meanwhile, the increase of crime is apparent in all directions. Popular banks find their cash-boxes emptied; the treasury of the provincial council of Caltanissetta has been despoiled of 375,000 lire. The bitter winter, increasing permanent misery, has aroused the long-suffering peasants. The old question of the lands assigned to the communes when the feudal system was abolished, and which ought to have been divided among the peasants in compensation of their old right to feed their herds and cut wood, has never been settled; hence the peasants, seeing that the administrators of the commune and private individuals were annexing these lands, have in several places tried to seize on them by force. At Caltavuturo, in the province of Palermo, they were shot down by the military—eight killed and ten wounded. At Caltagirone a similar catastrophe was averted by the humanity of the captain in command. Duels are of every-day occurrence, and only yesterday, at Catania and at Palermo, two cases of fratricide are recorded. The last day of carnival brought its usual number of murders and woundings in Sardinia and Ferrara, and as yet the murderers of Comm. Notarbartolo are undiscovered.

Notarbartolo was one of those splendid Sicilian characters whose numbers give hope for the future of the nation. He was Mayor of Palermo in 1873, a rigid administrator of public moneys, though he committed one thoroughly Italian error, *i. e.*, he sanctioned the erection of the gigantic Teatro Massimo, which has cost five, and will cost another five millions before it can be completed, while Palermo was (and still is) unsupplied with pure water. In 1875, when the Sicilian Bank was found, on inspection, to be in disorder through loans to a navigation society and a gigantic speculator who failed, Notarbartolo was nominated director, and his direction lasted till 1889, when he resigned, owing to some question with the Department of Agriculture. Rigid, inflexible, bent only on the interests of the Bank and the public, he condoned no dereliction from duty, respected no names, expelled, suspended, fined the least offences against the rules laid down, and was in consequence respected and admired by the honest citizens who form the majority, feared and hated by the Camorra; he was also the administrator of his own extensive estates and of those of the Prince of St. Elia. In 1882, he was sequestered by a band of brigands; his family paid 51,000 lire ransom, but he, on being set at liberty, would not rest till he had brought his captors to justice, and he succeeded. The trial, which took place three years later, lasted for weeks. One brigand, Matteo Barone, was condemned to the galleys for life; others to three, six, eight years of hard labor. All save Barone have since been "restored to society." Towards the end of January the Commendatore went to visit his estates, and was to have returned home on the 1st of February, and did indeed take train at Termini, entering a first-class carriage, while his servant and a cooper who accompanied him travelled in a third-class at the other end of the train. To that train were forty carbineers escorting agents to the assizes now sitting at Palermo. On arriving at Palermo, where the wife and son were awaiting him, the servant was surprised not to find the "master" in the carriage. Later, the body was found with eleven knife wounds flung out of the train near Atta Villa. Such are the hideous facts. The suspicion of a vendetta connected with the Bank of Sicily is excluded. That bank is "in order" as far as the metallic reserve and notes issued are concerned, though there seem to be some technical faults.

Taken altogether, I look upon this as the gloomiest period of Italian history since the "Borgian times" of the tobacco scandals in 1868-9. J. W. M.

#### PINGAUD'S D'ANTRAIQUES.

PARIS, February 16, 1893.

SECRET agents are the natural weeds of the political soil during revolutionary periods. They generally disappear, as they have lived, in obscurity, but it is hardly to them that you would apply the famous verse:

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen."

Who remembers, even after so short a time, the secret agent Régnier, who entered into communication with Bazaine during the siege of Metz, and who worked so powerfully on his mind? We hear every day just now the names of men who *perhaps* were secret agents of foreign Powers; but these names will be soon forgotten, and deservedly forgotten, though they may have been the instruments, conscious or unconscious, of very important designs.

Who knows, at the present hour, the names of the men who were the secret agents of Fouché, of Talleyrand, of Napoleon? M. Léonce Pingaud has tried to draw from total oblivion the name of one of these secret agents of the revolutionary period, the Comte d'Antraigues, and his book has something of the interest of a novel. In his introduction he tells us that on the eve of the convocation of the States-General there appeared a pamphlet which made almost as much noise as the pamphlet of Sieyès on the Tiers-État; it was signed D. A. N. T. R. A. I. G. U. E. S. When the Directory wished to justify the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, it published, as a proof of a royalist conspiracy, a 'Pièce trouvée à Venise dans le Portefeuille de D'Antraigues.' In 1803 the same name was used when France and Russia became hostile to each other.

Who was this important personage? He was born of a good family in the province of Vivarais on the 25th of December, 1753. He served, as all gentlemen did, in the army, but only for a short time; he was not admitted, as his parchments were found insufficient, into the "Carrosses du Roi" at Versailles, and made himself a member of the already all-powerful republic of letters. During the reign of Louis XVI., we find him spending his life in journeys, visiting Voltaire at Ferney, acquainted with Rousseau, adopting the politics of the "Contrat Social," satisfied with the religion of the Savoyard Vicar and the morals of the "Nouvelle Héloïse." He visits, in 1778, Constantinople, Egypt, Syria, the Principalities, Poland, in company with a Princess Alexandrine Ghika, who left him abruptly in Poland. On his return to France, we see him living a life of pleasure, mixing in the society of the philosophers, and having an open liaison with Saint-Huberty, the first singer of the Opéra. Born in Strasbourg, the daughter of strolling musicians, Marie-Antoinette Clavet married an adventurer called Saint-Huberty. She had become a singer, and sang in all the operas of Gluck. (Her life has been written by the Goncourts.) Her relations with D'Antraigues began in 1783; she had a son by him, who died. She seems to have always been much attached to him, though she did not exact from him a conjugal fidelity; he left her an equal liberty. When he stayed at his château in Vivarais, he had a rustic Saint-Huberty as a companion, a peasant girl, whom he had had half educated and who remained by him as a housekeeper.

Before the Revolution, D'Antraigues wrote an apologia of Necker, a memoir on the States-General, and a memoir on the States of Languedoc. When the three orders of Vivarais were assembled, he wrote the *cahier* of the nobility. He was elected a Deputy to the States-General; he had obtained a sort of popularity by his liberal views, but, in the Constituent Assembly, we find him among the defenders of the old order of things.

In a 'Gallery of the States-General' which gave portraits of all the members, he is described under the name of Antenor. "Antenor was born a courtier, and believes himself a republican. He is not yet very sure himself of what he thinks." D'Antraigues stood firmly for the royal right of veto. He entered into clandestine communications with the court, and he left after a while for Lausanne, where he remained, apparently for his health, till the end of 1790. He had left France with a few hundred louis; he received no more money from his tenants in Vivarais. Saint-Huberty joined him in Lausanne. At the end of 1790 they went together to Mendrisio, and were married on the 29th of December in the

church of the village of Castello San Pietro. This union was kept secret, as D'Antraigues wished to spare the feelings of his mother, who was still alive.

D'Antraigues became one of the pamphleteers who wrote against the French Revolution, and one of the numerous agents of the Princes in their negotiations with foreign Powers. His pamphlets are now forgotten: who cares to read 'Point d'accommodement' or the 'Adresse à la noblesse de France'? D'Antraigues spent his talent in anonymous publications, in articles without echo, in memoirs which were hardly read by those to whom they were addressed. He travelled between Piedmont, Milan, and Switzerland. His services were received at first with some diffidence at Coblenz. He understood well the *émigrés*. "They in trigue at Coblenz as they intrigued at Versailles; they want, if they do anything, to seem to do more than they have done. If they do nothing, they agitate so as to seem to be acting. They give themselves importance, they have secrets, they imagine secrets, they confide them. The most mediocre are the most diligent. . . . In short, they are a true pest to the party, these agitators who swim in a vacuum." D'Antraigues had already become the model of those whom he so well described.

In 1793, D'Antraigues contrived to enter officially the ranks of the Spanish Legation in Venice; he received letters of Spanish naturalization; he became the representative of Charles IV. near Monsieur; he gave himself out in Venice as representing "the King of France." He concentrated the correspondence of the royalist agents in Piedmont, in Tuscany, in the two Sicilies; he became the recipient of the correspondence of the Court of Madrid and the Spanish agents in Paris, when war had hermetically shut the Pyrenees. He entered into relations with the representatives of Russia in Genoa and in Naples.

Venice had become a second Coblenz: eight hundred Frenchmen lived in it and filled every day the Piazza of Saint Mark. D'Antraigues had brought his wife with him; his mother was in Rome under the protection of the Spanish Embassy; they were in constant correspondence, she being much attached to him. "God only knows all you have done against me since you attained the age of reason, all I have done and suffered for you since your birth; but I forgive you with all my heart." D'Antraigues quarrelled with his subordinates and with his masters; he was vain, jealous, indiscreet, paradoxical; he declared that the greatest crime of the Revolution had not been committed on the 21st of January in the Place Louis XV., where Louis XVI. was beheaded, but in Versailles on the 23d of June, 1789, at the Jeu de Paume. He did not inspire the Royalists with much confidence, especially the moderate Royalists like Mallet-Dupan, Montlosier, Malouet, Lally-Tollendal.

When the French entered Venice, D'Antraigues left with the Russian Minister, but he was detained at Trieste by Bernardotte, and sent to Venice as a prisoner and confined. His papers had been seized, and among them was found an account, written by himself, of conversations which he had had with a certain Montgaillard, a royalist agent, who was at the same time a spy of the French Republic. Bonaparte was much interested in this account, and would see D'Antraigues in person at his headquarters at Montebello. The interview lasted several hours. Mme. de Saint-Huberty paid visits to Mme. Bonaparte at Milan, and, thanks, probably, to her intervention, Bonaparte, having no more need of D'Antraigues, allowed him to

leave his prison and to remain at Milan as prisoner on parole. D'Antraigues left Milan disguised as a priest. He heard after his escape the news of the *coup d'état* of the 18th Fructidor, made against the royalists; the documents found in his portfolio had been published in the *Moniteur*, and given as a proof of a great royalist plot and as a justification of the *coup d'état*. We cannot much wonder that D'Antraigues was not well received by Louis XVIII. and his entourage. He fell into a half-disgrace, remained some time in Vienna, in Gratz: all the *émigrés* looked upon him as a traitor.

He became a sort of international agent; we see him in relation with Thugut, with Razumovski; at Dresden with Czartoryski and Cobenzl. We find in M. Pingaud's book a curious conversation which he had in 1802 with Champagny, who represented the Cabinet of the Tuileries after the peace of Lunéville. On account of their respective situations they met each other at the house of a friend, an old French priest. Champagny prophesied to D'Antraigues that Bonaparte would soon found a monarchy—for himself, not for his family—and that his monarchy would be absolute. "He has a decided character and he dares—great qualities for old Europe and its poor kings. Bonaparte has rendered great services. He will tame this nation, which is mad and always ready to become atrocious, by making war outside with his armies, inside with his judges and his prisons. Otherwise, all is lost." In this conversation D'Antraigues spoke very strongly against Louis XVIII., saying that if Louis XVIII. were to become king, he would never serve him nor reënter his country. He resented deeply the treatment he had received after his captivity in Italy. Champagny reassured him; he told him that those who thought of a Bourbon were balancing between only two persons, the Duc d'Enghien and the Duc d'Orléans.

D'Antraigues remained a long time at Dresden, and became there a literary as much as a political correspondent. He wrote memoirs on public education, he took part in the movement in Prussia which followed the defeat at Jena. The peace of Tilsit was the ruin of all his hopes; he had lost successively all the pensions which he received, and resolved to go to England and make an appeal to the French princes. He had hardly arrived when he saw the Comte d'Artois and the Duc d'Orléans. He became a correspondent of Canning's on French affairs, and entered into relations with Dumouriez and Puisaye, who both lived in London. He was at drawn daggers with D'Avary, the favorite of Louis XVIII., and with the little court at Hartwell, and lived in great isolation. His mother was dead; his wife could not resign herself to live in obscurity in a small house in Barnes. He had no resources but the pension which the English Government allowed him. His eyes were never taken off the various parts of the great chess-board of Europe; he foresaw early the rupture between Russia and France. One day, he was on the point of leaving for London when an Italian servant, Lorenzo, whom he had dismissed, entered his house, fired at him with a pistol, and threw himself with a poniard on Mme. d'Antraigues and killed her. D'Antraigues himself died a few moments afterwards. What was the cause of this double crime? Was it purely domestic, or was Lorenzo the instrument of a political vengeance? The assassin committed suicide, and the secret of his motives has never been unravelled. D'Antraigues was regretted by nobody; with fine and versatile intelligence,

he had terrible defects. The best that can be said of him is that he was the victim of the disorder which revolutions create in the moral world; he led the life of an adventurer, of a political *condottiere*. He was a living proof of the danger of emigration: out of his own country, among the enemies of his country, he lost the true measure of political right and wrong, and he was despised even by those for whom he had sacrificed his life.

## Correspondence.

### LEGISLATIVE ANARCHY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The close of the session of Congress, with the Silver Bill still unrepealed, teaches at least one lesson, that this is a government not by and for the people, but by and for the lobby. Whether a Democratic Congress will reinforce that lesson remains to be seen, but the risk is sufficient to make an extra session of doubtful promise. But while waiting seems to be the only attitude towards national affairs, there is a plenty of work to be done on State lines. The condition of the New Jersey Legislature, which, after passing laws condemned as an outrage upon public morality, adjourns to escape the wrath of an indignant mass-meeting, may seem to be an extreme case, but it is only in degree worse than those of the other States. The Legislature of Massachusetts is probably as good as any, but a very slight study of its proceedings reveals things which only the most determined optimist as to popular government can contemplate without grave misgivings.

One thing seems to be proved—that it is perfectly useless to urge the people to elect good men, or to scold them for not doing it. Every year shows more and more that they do not and will not do it. But that which, though equally true, is not so obvious, is that they *cannot* do it. The present system of State government drives away good men and attracts bad men as effectually as the modern centrifugal process expels cream from milk. Mr. Hewitt is reported as telling an audience at the City Club that they were a disorganized mob, contending with an organized, drilled and disciplined faction (meaning Tammany); and that single sentence is worth all the essays upon politics which have been written in the last twenty-five years. But how can a whole people arrive at organization? The first thing necessary is a leader—not, be it observed, leaders, because the multiplication destroys that personality which is the only effectual instrument for moving masses of men and giving life in their eyes to a measure or a principle. Witness how completely the Irish Home-Rule Bill, though others have had a hand in its preparation, is identified with Mr. Gladstone and depends upon himself or his successor for its passage. Now there can be but one possible leader for the people of a State, and that is the Governor, elected by the whole State, and towards whom all eyes are, or are ready to be, turned. The first step is to convert the purely nominal and illusory power of the Governor as it is now into one that is positive and practical. That is the meaning of the conflict so nobly begun in Massachusetts by Gov. Russell, and which, unless it is allowed to drop out of sight, will place the reputation of the State on a higher plane than it has ever yet occupied throughout the Union. It is true that Gov. Russell has thus far confined himself to messages and recommendations to the Legisla-

ture, which is very much like pleading with your adversary in a cause to give a decision in your favor. But it is to be hoped that he will have the insight and the courage to carry his case to the people, and, placing the facts before them, ask them to decide between him and the Legislature.

It may be asked, How will the increase of the Governor's power achieve the organization of the people? By bringing order, publicity, and responsibility into the conduct of public business. Now, the Legislature is a mob of equal units, in which what business is taken up and how it is treated is about equally a matter of chance and intrigue. Party combinations are the only way of getting anything done, and these combinations extend to the elections, involving methods which decent men will not submit to, so that the people are offered in the candidates only a choice between two evils, of which it is hard to tell which is the least. If there were an executive guide and leader for the conduct of legislation, subject to the public criticism of both sides and of independent members, the people would soon begin to recognize individuals, and to band together for the election of the good and the rejection of the bad.

The arguments are precisely the same as for the admission of the Cabinet officers to Congress, with as much more of force as State affairs are more important than the Federal. They may be summed up in the language of the Englishman, Walter Bagehot—deprecating only the limitation of place—that "if the New England States as a separate nation had cabinet government, they would be as renowned in the world for political sagacity as they now are for diffused happiness." G. B.

Boston, March 4, 1893.

### MR. WATERS'S NEW CLUES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Henry F. Waters writes that he has recently made two very interesting genealogical discoveries in Northampton, England. The first is the indenture, 12th Elizabeth, of Chadde Browne, the son of Arthur Browne of Melchbourne, County Bedford, yeoman, to Leonard Omston of Northampton, currier. This year is A. D. 1570, and the apprentice was doubtless fourteen years old. It is well known that a Chad Browne came to Providence in 1638, in the ship *Martin*, when his oldest son, John, was eight years old; that he, his son, and grandson were successively elders in the Baptist Church, and that the liberality of his descendants is commemorated in Brown University. It is hardly probable that the apprentice, Chad, was the emigrant, as he would have been over seventy when his son was born. Coincidence of names makes it highly probable that the apprentice was father of the emigrant.

As the general work of Mr. Waters for the *Register* does not allow of special searches, will not some of the graduates of Brown contribute the necessary funds to investigate this clue, so that Mr. Waters may do for their founder a like work to what he has done for Harvard?

The second discovery was the admission to freedom in Northampton, in 1618 or 1619, of Giles Corey, maltster. Here we seem to be on the track of the father of that stout-hearted victim of the Salem witchcraft, Giles, who was born about 1616.—Yours truly,

W. H. W.

## THE CLASSICS AS AIDS TO GOOD ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A good deal of discussion has been carried on in the public prints of late over preparation in English. Attention has also been called to the specially bad English of translations from the classics in entrance examinations. In making out an examination paper a few days ago I was surprised to find the following sentences in the 'Primer of Roman Antiquities,' compiled by so capable a scholar as Mr. Wilkins: "But the most essential part of the character, the very backbone of the whole, was their [*sic*] steadfast and sober trustworthiness" (p. 12). "It was only when they had made a treaty of peace with a neighbouring nation that they felt to have [*sic*] any duty towards them" (p. 13). It were perhaps hypercritical to object to "them." "There is also another point on which the Romans differed widely from the Greeks; that is, in their [*sic*] love for discussions" (p. 14).

Perhaps written translations from the classics and modern languages should be required of college students, and it might be better for the correction to proceed from the teachers of English and be directed to accuracy in the use of the mother tongue, rather than to accuracy of translation. Such an exercise would be more difficult than original composition in English, and so more improving. Under present conditions the utility of the classics for cultivating the power of expression in English seems to me questionable. Perhaps it is only with us in the South that boys show a wilful inclination to employ the English infinitive to represent the Latin in indirect discourse.

Respectfully, EDWIN W. FAY.  
AUSTIN, TEXAS, February 24, 1893.

## BOOKS ON SHELVES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The custom of shelving books with their backs to the wall must have been within men's memories at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At any rate, this is a natural inference from the engraved title-page of 'The Workes of Seneca Newly Enlarged and Corrected, by Thomas Lodge,' folio, London, 1620. The artist, in his attempt to illustrate the life of the philosopher, represents him in one scene as reclining on a pallet of straw with a shelf behind him containing six or eight bulky quartos with their edges towards the beholder, one of them firmly held together by clasps, and another with two pairs of thongs hanging loose from the front edges of the cover. J. E. G.

BURLINGTON, VT., March 2, 1893.

## TINTORETTO'S ST. MARK, FINALLY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I recognize the wisdom of cutting short a controversy which must be carried on at a distance of 4,500 miles from the printer, and for the evoking of which the *Nation* had no responsibility. But does not justice demand that the cutting should have been still shorter, and that the man attacked should have the last word?

I hope, therefore, you will allow me to say that Mr. Berenson's letter is a mass of gratuitous assumptions of error and ignorance on my part, of which I will only note in detail that he assumes that I admit not having seen the Tintoretto at the Brera, because I said that I did not recall it! With this sort of logical

acumen one does not care to debate, and his entire letter is equally inexact. But the subject was not worth discussing, and I am content to drop it with so much disclaimer.

Yours truly, W. J. STILLMAN.  
ROME, February 23, 1893.

## Notes.

BENJAMIN R. TUCKER, Boston, will publish directly 'Instead of a Book: By a Man Too Busy to Write One,' being a classified collection of his own writings for his weekly paper *Liberty*, and "intended to serve as a text-book of Philosophical Anarchism."

James Clegg, Rochdale, England, has in preparation the fourth edition of his 'International Directory of Second-Hand Booksellers, and Bibliophile's Manual,' the second half of the title covering lists of public libraries (British and foreign), publishers, learned and scientific societies, etc., etc. The same publisher announces a centenary edition of the works of 'Tim Bobbin (John Collier),' edited by Lieut.-Col. Fishwick, F.S.A., with the original and other illustrations.

Horace Cox, London, will shortly have ready 'Modern (Sporting) Dogs of Great Britain and Ireland,' by Rawdon B. Lee, editor of the *Field*. It will be profusely illustrated by colotype prints from drawings by Arthur Wardle.

A dainty volume with pictures of violets from water-colors, and selected verses about them on every page—'Stray Violets,' by Mary E. Hart (New York: George M. Allen Co.)—is among the earliest harbingers of spring, and will please those who are not too critical. But a true lover of wild things will quarrel with the monotony of form and color where nature shows such rich variety. The double violets of commerce have crowded out the yellow violet, the native white violet, the "worried violet" of which an observant poet writes, besides a host of others with real, if inconspicuous, distinctions.

Two books which come to us from Japan form a striking object-lesson in the resources of the typographic art as now employed in that country. One is an album of sights and scenes on the Tokaido, by K. Ogawa, photographer, Tokyo. The twenty plates are bound in the usual Japanese style, with silken back and cords, and heavy paper covers ornamented with the conventional wave-pattern (which is the Japanese equivalent of the Greek poet's "Oh the multitudinous laughings of the ocean billows"), shot through, here and there, with a mist of wisteria blossoms. Mr. James Murdoch, M.A., furnishes the descriptive text, which is printed in bold type. The pictures are in colotype and well executed. The opening scene, on the Nippon Bashi, shows the marvellous change from the turtle-backed wooden structure so familiar in old books. Now there is a massive flat-topped viaduct, over which the double steel tracks and tram-cars run. The perspective of Ginza Street shows line upon line of telegraph poles and a network of wires, though the costumes of the burden-bearers and most of the passers-by are those of Old Japan. There are scores of jin-riki-shas in sight, besides horse-carriages, and it is evident that a "block" of horse-cars is not uncommon even in Tokyo. The various pictures represent the scenes connected with old-time military manoeuvres, marriage, the hara-kiri, domestic and interior scenes, the making of the toilet, and various industries, trades, and avo-

cations. The larger pictures of the resting-place of "The Forty-seven Ronins," of the old and now disused execution ground near the Wind Bell Grove, the Rokugo River, and other scenes made familiar in the long line of foreign travellers' books on Japan, from Kaempfer to Murdoch, are clear and suggestive. Very successful is the instantaneous picture of a great procession of priests and religious over a bridge at a great temple celebration, the study of faces thus furnished being of more value than the usual conventional photographer's picture taken at a sitting. The other pictures of priest and temple life are excellent, and, of course, the volume is not complete without a representation of the fairest flowers of Japan, the *geisha*, or singing girls.

The other book is bound in the same manner, except that the silk-tied and highly ornamented covers are polychromatic, and are of paste-board. Although the number of printed pages is 310, the descriptive matter is scarcely worth mentioning as literature. Despite the intent and purpose of a romance, the book is evidently got up to carry the scores of half-tone photo-mechanical reproductions which are printed with the letterpress. The author of the photo-mechanical process is K. Ogawa, a Japanese; and his success is striking, even in comparison with the best Western products. The book is entitled 'Ayamé San,' Ayamé being one of those standard characters in Japanese life in whom filial piety overcomes all other considerations. The beautiful and lovely daughter is willing to sell herself to shame in order to help her father, who has got into pecuniary difficulties, but is saved from it by a foreign lover. The subordinate character is an Irish Japanese (what a combination!) who is the son of a British soldier by a Japanese woman, born in Yokohama, and educated in that part of Great Britain where modern Irish is spoken with all its peculiarities. Many of the descriptions of persons and scenery are interesting. The whole air and atmosphere and *chiaroscuro* of Anglo-Japanese life are produced with remarkable fidelity. A gem of illustrative, though not of literary art, this pretty souvenir of foreign life in Japan will be greatly valued by those returned Americans who wish to revive their memories of the beautiful islands in the Eastern Sea. The book is printed by the Yokohama Printing and Publishing Company, and is published by Kelly & Walsh, Yokohama.

We are indebted to the Appalachian Mountain Club of Boston for a copy of Frederick H. Chapin's 'Land of the Cliff-Dwellers,' an unpretending little volume in which there is a good account of the ruined habitations in the Mancos Cañon and its tributaries. The field of observation—twenty miles by thirty—to which our author limited himself, is no doubt somewhat restricted, but on the other hand it is typical, for within these narrow bounds a network of cañons gives an exposure of some hundreds of miles of cliff-frontage, thus affording ample room for the numerous cave-like openings in which are situated the ruined buildings that dot the face of the cliffs. Many of these our author visited; the grandest and most picturesque he also figures, for, wisely enough, he trusts the camera quite as much as the pen to give an adequate idea of these wonderful scenes. Besides the abandoned dwellings, he shows us specimens of the arts and industries of the people who lived in them, and he prefaces the whole with an account of this region from the date of the Spanish conquest down to the present time. In this portion of the work he generally follows Bander-

lier, and the résumé he gives of that writer's investigations is as trustworthy as it is interesting. From a comparison of the architecture and mode of life of these people with that of the Pueblo Indians of Santa Fé and Arizona, our author concludes (pp. 16, 63, etc.) that some of these tribes, as, for example, the Moquis, are the descendants of the cliff-dwellers. This is also (p. 117) the voice of tradition, and it is generally accepted as a fact. Of the causes that led to the abandonment of this region nothing definite is known. It may have been brought about by the fear of hostile inroads, as the condition of the human remains found in one of the houses (p. 161) would seem to indicate, or it may have resulted from any one of the many other causes which influenced our Indians in the choice or abandonment of a village site.

Mr. I. N. Ford's 'Tropical America' (Scribners) consists of selections from the letters written by him, as staff correspondent, to the *New York Tribune* in 1890 and 1891. 'They are here more or less recast and, statistically, brought down to date, but their hurried quality is distinctly heightened by the lapse of time and their challenge of criticism no longer as journalism, but as a book of travels. It is a matter of boasting with the author that he knew nothing of the literature of his subject before setting out on his journey, and it only needs to be said that he gives no proof of being the rare genius who alone could, under such circumstances, make an addition to it which anybody else need read.

The popular reissue of the Edgewood edition of Donald G. Mitchell's 'Reveries of a Bachelor' and 'Dream Life' (Scribners) makes a pretty pair of volumes scarcely affected by a lowering of the quality in the paper. The eye and the hand are as well served as before, and at a lessened cost.

Col. Winthrop, Deputy Judge-Advocate-General of the Army, has published an abridgment of his work on 'Military Law' (John Wiley & Sons). He has thus brought into the compass of a single handy volume, 12mo, of about 450 pages, the whole substance of the larger treatise and the earlier editions. By the omission of the notes and the extended discussion of some disputable questions, he has been able to give a very convenient and trustworthy hand-book for use in the practical work of courts-martial and for the general instruction of young officers in the principles of military law.

'Criminology,' by Arthur MacDonald (Funk & Wagnalls Company), is intended as a study of crime upon the lines followed by the Italian specialist Lombroso, who furnishes an introduction to this volume. Most of it is made up of a summary of the labors of Lombroso and others, but the author reports some of his own investigations. A bibliography of works upon crime and criminals is appended. Such a work as this is not fit for general circulation, nor has it much value for specialists.

The Scribners publish 'The Ethic of Usury and Interest,' by W. Blissard, an English vicar, which is one of those compounds of socialistic theory and pseudo-religious sentiment now so much in vogue in England. The plunder of property-owners through the devices of "land nationalization," graduated income taxes, and collectivism in general, is now preached by many clergymen as of the essence of Christianity, and this author is moved by their spirit. His contention is that interest is defensible, but that when labor is underpaid, interest becomes usury, which is wrong. How to correct this evil, Mr. Blissard cheer-

fully explains; but the obstacles are formidable.

'A History of Socialism,' by Thomas Kirkup (London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan) is partly historical, but mainly propagandist. Both as history and as criticism, Mr. John Rae's 'Contemporary Socialism' is much superior to the present work; but those who look to socialism for our salvation may derive edification from Mr. Kirkup's preaching.

What laws might govern in a community where laborers subsisted not upon food already in existence, but upon that which was to be produced in the future, seems to us an unprofitable inquiry; but those who think otherwise may be interested in 'The Theory of Wages and Its Application to the Eight Hours Question and Other Labor Problems,' by Herbert M. Thompson (Macmillan). The author maintains, in opposition to Mill, that a demand for commodities is a demand for labor, and insists that rent does enter into the cost of production. He concludes that the true theory of wages is that they are "a varying proportion of a varying product of industry"—a proposition scarcely of a nature to admit of categorical denial.

The *May Harper's* will contain an article on the life and work of the late Phillips Brooks, by his brother, the Rev. Arthur Brooks.

An Exhibition number of *Scribner's* will be published simultaneously with the opening of the World's Fair at Chicago, but it will be in the nature of an exhibit of an American magazine, rather than illustrative of the Fair itself.

The *London Art Journal*, on the other hand, will shortly commence publishing illustrated articles on the Chicago exhibits, from an artistic point of view.

Old heads upon young shoulders must be predicated of the chosen audience of *American Young People*, a quarto illustrated journal just launched in Chicago. "Patriotism," "Citizenship," "The Republics of Switzerland and the United States—A Contrast," "The Patriotic League," are certainly unchildlike topics, especially when occurring side by side with a paper on "Practical Toys."

The range of the Boston *Journal of American Folk-Lore* is illustrated by "Notes on the Chinese in Boston," by Mary Chapman, in the October-December number—these interesting memoranda being purely sociological. Mr. Alfred M. Williams exemplifies the rather sorry "Folk-Songs of the Civil War," on both sides of the contest. Interesting is the account of the Rabbit in Siouan mythology, to which any one should turn who is curious, for instance, to know why, when you seize a grasshopper, "he spits tobacco juice at you."

The February number of *Cassier's Magazine* (New York) contains the fourth paper by A. and W. K. L. Dickson on "The Life and Adventures of Edison," profusely illustrated with portraits, views, and diagrams. These chapters contain much that is fresh as well as interesting, the authors being colleagues of Mr. Edison in his laboratory researches and having enjoyed his intimacy.

The deserts of Atacama and Tarapaca, in the northern part of Chili, are described by Mrs. Lilly Grove in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for February. She dwells principally upon the natural resources of the country, and concludes with the statement that of the total area of Chili more than one-third is occupied by mines. Prof. J. J. Stevenson gives some account of southeastern Alaska and its people, accompanied by an excellent map. He proph-

sies the extinction of the fur-seal before many years, and says that after its disappearance there is little prospect that Alaska will be anything more to the United States than it was to Russia, except as a source of fish supply.

The *Geographical Journal* for February opens with an account of Mr. Joseph Thomson's exploration, in 1890, of the region to the north of the Zambesi River, now known as British Central Africa. He reports three-fourths of the country traversed during a journey of 1,200 miles to be capital agricultural and pastoral land, with a climate exceptionally good for Africa, the general elevation being nearly 4,000 feet. The natives have abandoned the village where Livingstone died, but the tree under which his heart was buried, and on which his faithful attendants cut an inscription, is still standing unharmed. Extensive regions were passed through which had recently been harried by the half-caste Portuguese slave-hunters, and great difficulty was experienced in convincing the excited natives of the peaceful character of the expedition. Only once, however, was a man wounded—"the first blood shed, by the way," remarks Mr. Thomson, "on any of my six African expeditions," in the course of which he has walked over 18,000 miles. The most interesting part of Capt. Gallwey's paper on West Africa is the description of his visit to the once famous city of Benin. Though very much smaller than it was two or three centuries ago, it is still an important place, and is the "seat of a very powerful theocracy of fetish priests." "Human sacrifices are of frequent occurrence," crucifixion being the usual form. "We saw several crucified victims during our stay, on the plain outside the King's residence." A treaty was signed by which the country was put under British protection, and it is hoped that in time these cruel practices will be stopped. Mr. Conway contributes a striking account of the crossing a Himalayan pass by a glacier eighty miles long.

The first fruits of the excavations of the American School of Athens at the Heraion of Argos in 1892 have been given to the world by Dr. Waldstein, the Director of the School, in a small folio (Boston: Ginn & Co.). Dr. Waldstein is convinced of the immediate importance of his finds to students of archaeology and art, and a list of selected objects sent to the Museum at Athens attests the correctness of his judgment: metal rings in profusion, animal figures, tools, utensils, seals, toilet articles, beads, coins, terracotta plaques and idols, "1 porcelain monkey, 1 porcelain cat, 1 Egyptian image," and much else. The latest date to which he would ascribe these objects would be prior to the beginning of the fifth century B. C., "while many point to the remotest antiquity." Seven collotype plates accompany the letter-press, showing the site of the temple before and after excavation, and the more important fragments of statuary—a fine head of Hera, a torso from the metope of the second temple, and some very interesting terracotta figurines found below that temple's foundations.

Four more instalments of Prof. Payne's 'Famous Composers and their Works' (Boston: J. B. Millet Co.) have appeared, and maintain the agreeable variety of biographical narrative, critical appreciation, and exemplification which characterize this work. Portraits, views of birthplaces, graves and monuments, facsimiles of handwriting, and specimen music abound. Mozart is finished, and Beethoven, Schubert, Spohr, Weber, and Marschner are despatched. There are also sporadic portraits

of Rubinstein, Grieg, Spontini, and Mendelssohn.

No. 48 in the seventh series of the *Anales* of the University of Ecuador (Quito, July, 1892) contains a valuable Ecuadorian bibliography, by Dr. F. G. Suárez, supplementary to Anrique's 'Noticia' of certain Ecuadorian publications prior to 1792. Dr. Suárez's "essay" goes back to 1750, but describes nothing that he has not seen and examined. It is an anticipation of the fourth chapter of his General History of the republic. The introduction of the printing-press into Ecuador and its use by the Jesuits are assigned to the period 1750-52. It was, of course, for the use of the order, not for public enlightenment. The first title-page copied by Dr. Suárez is a 'Piissima erga Dei Genitricem Devotio,' printed at Ambato in 1755, a small 18mo. Twenty-four works in all are recorded in this manner.

A woman physician, Dr. Frances C. Van Gasken, has been appointed Assistant Medical Inspector to the Bureau of Health, Philadelphia. Before appointment, Dr. Van Gasken passed the requisite civil-service examinations "with distinction"; she has also served with credit a term as Resident at the Philadelphia Hospital, admission to which is through the open door of competitive examinations. The duties of House Inspector for Boards of Health might be admitted to fall within woman's sphere, even by the most conservative; and where women physicians possess the required "fitness," duly tested, their appointment to similar posts of public service should conduce to the improvement of civic sanitary conditions.

The vigorous recognition of equality between men and women which has found a place in the scheme for a Welsh university (with affiliated university colleges at Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff), should encourage those among us who demand the selection of "fit" women as members of college faculties and boards of control. The second clause of the draft-charter provides that "women as well as men shall be eligible for degrees in the university herein constituted, and for every office, and for membership of every body or authority herein constituted; and wherever throughout this act (or charter) the masculine pronoun is used of a student, graduate, or officer of said university, or of a member of any body or authority in it, it is to be construed as including the feminine also."

—Von Holst's Convocation Oration, delivered at Chicago in January and recently printed in the *Educational Review*, is a strong plea on the broadest grounds for the development of university education in the United States. A quarter of a century devoted to the study of our social and political development has convinced the historian that the greatest perils of our national life are yet to be met and overcome. He does not foresee further political crises like those which attended the birth of our nation in the last century and its reconstitution in civil war; the difficulties in sight are administrative and social. The rapid growth of our population, especially of our municipal population, and the increasing size and deteriorating quality of our immigration, are creating governmental problems, and the increase and centralization of wealth are forcing to the front social questions which are incomparably more difficult, because they are far more complex, than the constitutional questions with which our fathers and forefathers had to deal. Von Holst, like Bryce, has great faith in "the re-

serve of force and patriotism" which the American people have so often displayed; but energy and devotion will be insufficient to surmount the coming difficulties. We need also trained and progressive intelligence. The hope of democracy lies in wise leadership, and the leaders must be furnished by the universities. The universities will not discharge this duty either by sending out well-equipped professional men or by producing a small proportion of trained scholars: they must also rear an increasing "remnant" who love truth and seek it for its own sake. That is, they must, above all things, produce investigators. For this purpose Von Holst finds the existing American universities inadequate, both in structure and in spirit. A fully developed university, in the Continental European sense, does not yet exist in this country. Structurally our best universities are "either compounds of college and university, . . . or hybrids of college and university, or finally a torso of a university." More discouraging than this incompleteness, which may be regarded as a phase of development, is the predominance of the professional spirit. There is no doubt that the American idea of the university—even among the few people who have grasped the distinction between college and university—is simply a collection of technical and professional schools. Put schools of law, medicine, and theology under the same board of trustees and the same president, add a school of engineering and a school for training teachers, and, according to this view, you have a university. But there is still something lacking to the university as Von Holst conceives it, and that something is the most important thing of all—the encouragement of research.

—The emphasis laid upon technical training results, as he points out, in the establishment of fixed courses, devised simply to produce good lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc.—courses which occupy the student's entire time and leave him no opportunity to broaden and liberalize his studies; courses which exclude new combinations and discourage the development of individual genius. Von Holst indicates that the remedy is to be found in lessening the required work of the professional school and increasing the range of election. Under such a system the pure professional can devote himself as closely as he desires to purely professional studies, but the student who seeks a broader training will be able to secure it.

"Grant that by allowing a large measure of liberty, . . . part of the students will lay in a smaller stock of facts, rules, and technical training. . . . That is more than compensated by the advantages which only the freedom of true university education can secure. Only this can fan the burning coals of that enthusiasm which is absolutely untainted by any sordid motives into the intensest glow; only this can fully develop the inborn forces, for it alone allows full play in the use of them; . . . only this incites to the development of distinctive intellectual individualities, . . . only this systematically fosters the intellectual and moral courage required for striking out into new paths; . . . and last, but not least, this only can produce an adequate number of the kind of missionaries the country stands in need of."

The "remnant" from which Von Holst expects our national salvation is not, of course, to

On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind"; it must keep in touch with the whole body of the nation. "If a chasm opens up between the 'remnant' and the 'unsound majority' and is allowed to widen; nothing can save this country." The need of universities is felt to-day in

France as well in the United States, and there is in France to-day an energetic movement towards the development of true university work. Its leaders plead for it as the most necessary element of "national regeneration." It is a very significant fact that they, like Von Holst, find the greatest obstacle in their way to be that utilitarian spirit which insists on "practical" education, and the resulting predominance of technical and professional training.

—In a recent letter to the *Academy*, Prof. E. G. Bourne of Adelbert College, Cleveland, points out a common error in the interpretation of a passage in Seneca, made by writers on the discovery of America and early voyages hither. The passage is in the preface to the 'Naturales Quaestiones,' where Seneca is contrasting the petty dimensions of the earth, the scene of human life, with the wide ranges of the universe, the realm of thought. Once admitted to these, he says, the mind "contemnit domicilii prioris angustias. Quantum enim est quod ab ultimis litoribus Hispaniae usque ad Indos iacet? Paucissimorum dierum spatium, si navem suus ferat ventus, implebit. At illa regio coelestis per triginta annos velocissimo sideri viam praestat," etc. To the classical scholar's mind it will seem almost incredible, yet it is true, that modern writers, from Roger Bacon down, have understood the italicized words to refer to the distance from Spain to India by the way of the Atlantic; see, for instance, Humboldt, Payne, Gaffarel, Fiske, Winsor (the last not cited by Prof. Bourne). Some have even argued from the passage that Atlantic voyages were not uncommon in Seneca's time; hardly less amusing is such a comment as the following: "It is certainly evident that Seneca underestimated the distance to India. Had the length of the voyage been known, he would not have used the illustration." On the contrary, the longer the voyage, the better the figure, the stronger the contrast; and the very word *paucissimorum*, taken literally as the critic takes it, is a conclusive proof that he does not understand the passage: any terrestrial voyage, no matter how long, is short compared to that celestial journey of thirty years.

—The truth is, that Seneca was using here a well-recognized phrase signifying *the known world*. Now, to the Roman of his day, Spain was the "jumping-off place," and from it the world lay not to the West but to the East; so Juvenal—

"Omnibus in terris quae sunt a Gadibus usque Auroram et Gangem."

There is no more sense in reading the Atlantic Ocean into these passages than there would be in supposing that in Dr. Johnson's

"Let observation, with extensive view, Survey mankind, from China to Peru,"

the sage meant to confine his vision to the Pacific. As Prof. Bourne well remarks, "From a rhetorical point of view, the distance from Spain westward to India, as an absolutely unknown quantity, would be out of place in the comparison. Seneca would naturally use a great but known distance." The traditional modern interpretation comes from reading a single sentence in Seneca apart from its context and in the light of modern geographical knowledge. In fact, it wholly lacks the Roman point of view. That Seneca himself is professing no advanced geographical knowledge here is clear from words which he uses a few lines above—words with which Prof. Bourne might well have strengthened the case

against our modern writers: "Punctum est, illud in quo navigatis, in quo bellatis, in quo regna disponitis, minima etiam, cum illis utrimque oceanus occurrit" (cf. 3, 9, 27, "hic qui terras cingit oceanus"). Homer himself knew as much as this!

—The Parisian public is about to be invited to view two simultaneous collections of the works of the artist Meissonier. One exhibition, in the galleries of M. Georges Petit, is to be opened in the early part of this month, but a few weeks later than the second anniversary of Meissonier's death; the other, to which the Académie des Beaux-Arts will lend its walls, is receiving the vigorous support of his widow. The former alone is expected to be a still more magnificent testimony to the great artist's genius than the similar exhibition held in 1884, also in the well-known Rue de Sèze. It will be especially rich in drawings and studies of all sorts, some for pictures that have not yet been exhibited. The extraordinary capacity of Meissonier for elaborate and painstaking preparation for pictures, carried even to the manufacture of a button not otherwise forthcoming, was no small part of his genius, and will pass into the proverbial history of art. The size of his paintings, measured by rule-of-thumb, is another of the characteristics which early marked him out from a generation of ample stroke and lavish employment of pigment. Perhaps never before will there have been an opportunity to pass in review such large and varied portraiture of men on such a small extent of canvas. That greatness is not bigness was long ago proved to the critics who carped at their smallness by the vigor and individuality of Meissonier's minutely painted "Smokers," "Troopers," or "Card-Players." It is much to be wished that his *Life*, the materials for which are said to be in the hands of his brother-in-law, M. Steinheil, might appear contemporaneously with this double exhibition of his work. It was he who was the leading spirit in the revolt from the Salon that resulted in the founding of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, with its rival Salon in the Champ de Mars. The prediction that the loss of its foremost artist would be the death-blow of this exhibition has not yet been realized, inasmuch as its opening this year has been announced for May 10.

—M. Adolphe Lods has undertaken a preliminary critical examination of the Greek texts discovered by M. Bouriant in Upper Egypt six years ago and published last November in the *Memoirs of the French Archaeological Mission of Cairo*. In 'Le Livre d'Hénoch' (Paris: Leroux) he gives the Greek fragments of the book, with the variants of the Ethiopic text, translation, exegetical notes, and critical introduction. His conclusion is that the new Greek text is of the same family with that from which the Ethiopic version was made, and is in general superior to it in accuracy; he of course does not try to construct a final text. His exegetical-critical treatment is brief, clear, and judicious, and his book is useful and readable. Of the *Gospel according to Peter* and the *Apocalypse of Peter* he gives the Greek texts with Latin versions and critical dissertations. The author of the *Gospel*, he thinks, wrote in Syria, not in Judea, not long before 150 A. D., was acquainted with the first and second canonical Gospels, and possibly with the third, but probably not with the fourth. The *Apocalypse*, he concludes, was highly esteemed in the latter part of the second century; whether Dante used its pictures of torment he does not decide. Two bright, popu-

lar papers on the *Gospel* and the *Apocalypse* by M. Salomon Reinach, which appeared in January in the *République Française*, have been reprinted in pamphlet form (Paris: Alcan-Lévy). He holds that the author of the *Gospel* was not acquainted with either of our canonical gospels, and that the *Apocalypse* got its material from Greek sources, especially from the Orphic literature.

#### THAYER'S DAWN OF ITALIAN INDEPENDENCE.

*The Dawn of Italian Independence.* By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 2 vols., pp. 453, 446.

MR. THAYER strictly limits his field to a period closing with the fall of Venice in 1849. When he has once found the clue of the tangled skein of events, he follows it with an exemplary singleness of aim, gathering, as he goes, only such threads as are really essential to the narrative, undiverted by the great mass of episodic fragments which, however tempting, have but slight connection with the final result. The work is very conveniently divided into five books (thirty-five chapters), and is well indexed. In the first book there is little that could not be spared. It was not necessary to go quite back to the twin-egg of Leda. To say nothing of the Western Empire, Charlemagne, and the dawn of the Papacy, it is doubtful if even the Middle Ages could have been so treated in a mere introduction as to give the reader any notions more helpful for the right understanding of the Italian movement than the generalities already so familiar to the reading public. From an artistic point of view, the French Revolution and its propaganda under the First Napoleon are the true starting-point for a history of Italian regeneration. Nevertheless, apart from the propriety of going into mediæval history at all, we cannot complain of Mr. Thayer's conception of it. He gives just values to feudalism, paganism, and Christianity as factors in the evolution of the Middle Ages. His summary of Christianity and of its successive compromises with the ancient world is well done and very much his own, even though he is merely expressing more tersely and forcibly ideas which for some decades have been vaguely blown about in the atmosphere of modern thought.

Every reader will soon feel that the author is a thinker; and nothing more clearly shows it than the readiness with which he seizes the one idea which is at once the keynote of mediæval history and the mainspring of Italian regeneracy. This conception, which, to distinguish it from Romanism, has been called Romanity, was first consciously entertained by the thinkers of the Augustan age, especially by Virgil. Mr. Thayer gives it the more poetic name of "the spell of Rome"; and a spell it truly was, a name to conjure by, which, after vitalizing the Holy Roman Empire and galvanizing the very carcass of it, profoundly influenced the French Revolution, made the First Empire, and even raised a faint echo in the Second, while all this time it was what it now is, the true "rock of Peter," on which the Church of Rome has stood these eighteen centuries gone. One may differ from the author on points of detail. We think that he misses the answer as to why, after the fall of the Western Empire, Italy did not rise as a nation. The true answer is, that Italy had never been a nation. Rome was only Rome, and as truly Rome in Betica or in Africa as in Campania or in Latium, whereas France, for example, or

rather the Franks in France, were and had never ceased to be a nation. Admirable, on the other hand, is the author's estimate of Dante, who, by giving a patent of nobility to the Italian language in his immortal poem, furnished that link without which, as all history shows, it is impossible to bind a people into a truly national union. Equally just is Mr. Thayer's judgment on the brilliant period of the Medici, which, as he tells us, did not create, but only brought to light, qualities engendered in the purer atmosphere of freedom; but let us own that we miss some appreciation of the abortive attempt of Cola di Rienzi, an event not justly measured by its unsuccess. Nothing in the mediæval history of Italy did more to keep alive the idea that Rome might some day rise again from her priest-ridden torpor. And the same criticism might be made as to the scientific activity of the Italians, especially in the seventeenth century, and the world-renown of the great artists; for it is not easy to overrate the nationalizing force of glory which an entire people regards as a common inheritance. Again, great as was the influence of Metternich in the opposite direction, one regrets to see eighteen pages (vol. i., pp. 120-138) devoted to anecdotes of so despicable a personage. For this the author himself (p. 136) feels obliged to make some apology:

The interval between 1814 and 1846 was a formative period, marked by the local revolutions of 1820, 1821, and 1830. These and the intervening years are treated in a lucid and graphic style which leaves little to be desired. The independent attitude of Piedmont towards Austria under Victor Emanuel I.; Carbonarism, of which Mr. Thayer gives an excellent account; the first appearance of Charles Albert, whose complex character is judiciously analyzed (ii., 258-262); the savage treatment of the patriots in Naples, Modena, and Lombardy; and the early career of Mazzini—these are the principal topics. Here, as in all the remainder of the book, Mr. Thayer has been a careful student of the best Italian authorities. He refers to a very large number of works not easily accessible to the American reader, and makes discriminating use of materials confusing by their abundance. There are some remarkably good passages, of which the description of the "dangerous classes" (ii., 228-230) and the spirited account of the arrest and adventures of Confalonieri may serve as examples. In ii., 319-324 the author compares Manzoni and Leopardi, justly attributing the latter's inferior influence to his pessimism, as has been more fully shown by Terenzio Mamiani in the *Nuova Antologia* (August, 1873). In describing the disturbances of 1830, the writer, wisely cautious, refuses to decide for or against the good faith of Francis of Modena in his first curious dealings with Ciro Menotti. This point cannot be certainly determined; yet it seems likely enough that the man who earned the title of "il Boja" (the hangman) would not shrink from the arts of a "sbirro." The author's tribute to the virtues of Mazzini is well deserved.

Mr. Thayer's book supplies, throughout, a deficiency, so far as our reading public is concerned; but with regard to the period we have just noticed, it stands almost alone. The whole of the second volume is taken up with the events of the four years, 1846-1849. The movement in 1846 was caused by the election of a Pope supposed to be a Liberal. Mr. Thayer answers negatively the question whether he ever was one, while admitting that he would have rejoiced in Italian Independence, on condition that it should not involve constitutional forms of government and especially

the secularization of his own. We are then shown how the enthusiasm produced by the prevailing assumptions as to his views carried Pius IX., at a pace which he had never dreamed of, to the verge of a precipice whence his priestly instincts recoiled with horror. We are led to see how the new attitude of the Papacy made it impossible for the Italian princes to resist the clamor for reform, and how, from one concession to another, they were all driven to grant constitutions. We next see the infection of Liberalism sweeping over Lombardy and Venetia, and even crossing the Alps to beard the old lion Metternich in his den and ignominiously drive him forth. It needed no more than this to start the revolution in Milan, a centre of culture, where the situation had been extremely strained for several months. We have in pp. 109-124 an animated and really very fine description of the famous "five days" of Milan (March 18-22, 1848) when a carefully disarmed population expelled from the city and its citadel 16,000 of Austria's best troops commanded by the veteran Fieldmarshal Radetzky. From this moment we see the war of Independence already unavoidable, and are shown how all the Italian princes were forced to embark in it. We cannot here follow the author through the interesting details of the campaign, from Goito to the Italian victory at Pastrengo, April 30, 1848. The war, thus far, had shown the Italian princes and the Pope that success might mean advantage to the House of Savoy, but certainly meant ruin to them; and, one by one, they dropped their masks, and recalled or withheld their troops. The fifth book shows us Charles Albert paralyzed by their defection and by the premature discussions as to how the hare should be served which, alas! was still running. Mr. Thayer has done the unhappy king full justice. He shows how, before Custoza, it was in his power to elect either to redeem his pledges to the Italian people, or to abandon Venice to her fate and add all Lombardy to his dominions; and how nobly he preferred the path of honor. We see him staking and losing all at Custoza, and then scoffed at and cursed by those very Lombards whose foolish bickerings had contributed to his defeat.

When the exasperation of disappointed hope had led to the establishment of democratic governments in Rome and Tuscany, with the Pope and Leopold at Gaeta under the friendly wing of "Bomba," the prominent figure of the period is Gioberti. How he vainly labored to unite the princes in an Italian League and to induce the republicans to forego their momentary triumph; how, when every other means had failed, he conceived the bold scheme of forestalling an Austrian by a Piedmontese intervention—all this the author explains clearly. His statement, on p. 297, that "Leopold's apostasy would not have deterred Gioberti" from intervention, "but opposition in Turin suddenly dashed that plan," is somewhat misleading. It seems to imply that, when Leopold withdrew his consent, Gioberti was still Prime Minister. We have Gioberti's own statement ('Risposta a Urbano Rattazzi,' p. 46) that he had resigned on the 19th of February, while Leopold's revocation of his assent reached Charles Albert only on February 21 (*ib.*, p. 59, where Gioberti says distinctly that he was no longer Minister). We next follow the fortunes of Italy through another campaign, ending with the disaster of Novara and the pathetic scene of the old King's abdication. This is practically the end; but the author has yet to describe the Austrian intervention in Tuscany and the restoration of Pius to his throne. The last chapter gives a

full and remarkably exact account of the siege of Venice and its surrender, on August 22, 1849, with which the book ends. We must not omit to mention two very convenient maps which accompany the work.

Mr. Thayer is an easy and fluent—perhaps too fluent—writer, and his diction is noticeably tropical. He has not altogether escaped the influence of Carlyle. We think he makes an excessive use of the apostrophe, as, to the agricultural laborer (i., 6), the ancient Romans (i., 22), the Spielberg (i., 306), the Emperor Francis (i., 307), etc. Those who prize individuality of style less than we do would also find Mr. Thayer's vocabulary and phraseology occasionally too unconventional. But such faults occur in the midst of admirable writing and among abundant proofs of a scholarly and cultivated mind. The personality of the historian, as it shines in his judgments and his aspirations, is decidedly attractive, at least to liberal minds. Future works, which we may confidently expect from his pen, are assured of a friendly and eager reception from readers of the present.

#### COPELESTON'S BUDDHISM.

*Buddhism, Primitive and Present*, in Magadha and in Ceylon. By Reginald Stephen Copleston, D.D., Bishop of Colombo, President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Longmans, Green & Co. 1892. 8vo, pp. xv., 501.

NOTWITHSTANDING the numerous works on Buddhism recently issued, there was room for a book which, neglecting the side-growths, should undertake to give a continuous history of the primitive faith of Gotama. This task Bishop Copleston has performed with excellent judgment and skill. By way of preparation he has read, he says, a large part of the original sacred books of which he treats, including a good deal of unpublished matter; has consulted competent Sinhalese authorities, and has studied the leading European works bearing on his subject. He writes with the fervor and freshness of an independent investigator, and shows such genuine desire to be impartial that the reader cannot but follow him with pleasure. His conclusions agree in the main, but not without differences of detail, with those of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg. His critical position is moderate: he allows great weight to the Ceylonese tradition, but subjects the Buddhist books to a sharp analysis. Granting that Buddhism arose in the sixth century B. C., he doubts, and with good reason, whether its sacred books can be held to give an accurate picture of Indian life at that time. If these books were compiled two or three centuries later, and in the atmosphere of the new faith, they could hardly fail to be colored by the new conditions. Unfortunately there is no contemporary literature to appeal to, for the Jainist books also are of the later date. Modern authorities are agreed that a Buddhist canon was probably completed at the Council of Patna, under Asoka, about 250 B. C., but opinions differ as to the historical reality and significance of the alleged earlier Councils of Rajagaha and Vesali. Here Dr. Copleston appears as a sceptic: he regards the former of the two as entirely fictitious, and the second as not really a council, resting his opinion on the contradictions and legendary features of the authorities. It must be admitted that his scepticism is not without foundation.

On the other hand, the name of Asoka kindles his enthusiasm:

"He was not merely the Constantine of

Buddhism; he was an Alexander with Buddhism for his Hellas; an unselfish Napoleon, with 'mettam' (love) in place of 'gloire.' The world was his that he might protect all lives in it; might teach loving-kindness throughout it; might establish in every part of it the Community of the disciples of the Buddha. Compared with the solid reality of Asoka, the records which are preserved of the Buddha himself are but a shadowy tradition. And as the great King's history becomes better known, men will be tempted to speculate whether Buddhism owes more to Gotama than to Moggali (the leader of the Community in Asoka's time); to ask how far what is definite in the history of Bimbisara's [the royal disciple of Gotama] days is a reflection thrown back on the mist of the past from the greater epoch of Asoka" (p. 281).

Whether this is an exaggeration further research must show, but it is in any case a generous tribute from a Christian bishop to a noble exponent of a non-Christian religion.

Dr. Copleston is no doubt right in assigning Asoka a very important place as an organizer of the young Buddhism, and his view is to a certain extent supported by his valuable examination of the canonical literature (chap. xxi.). The critical analysis of the Buddhist books has only just begun; as it advances it must yield weighty results for the history of Buddhism. Bishop Copleston's special contribution in this direction is his attempt to show that the Maha Parinibbana Sutta belongs to the reign of Asoka. His arguments, for example, that Asoka is the first who answers to the description of a Cakkavatti king, or universal monarch, and that he began the erection of dagabas, or relic-shrines, are hardly convincing; the facts he adduces make against a very early date for the Sutta, but do not seem necessarily to bring it down to Asoka's time. Nevertheless, his method is good, and needs only to be pursued carefully to yield good fruit.

His account of Ceylonese Buddhism embraces the whole period from its introduction into the island down to the present time. With Rhys Davids, and against Oldenberg, he maintains the truth of the tradition which attributes the conversion of Ceylon to Asoka's missionary, Mahinda. Oldenberg thinks that the new religion, advancing gradually southward, passed into the island from the south of India. Dr. Copleston gives good reasons for regarding the Pali chronicles as trustworthy on this point. For the decision of the question we must wait for further light on the history; a-priori considerations are here of no value, and the evidence is not of a sort to be convincing. But, as regards the literature, we may hold with our author that the substance of the three Pitakas was brought to Ceylon in the memories of the missionaries, and gradually committed to writing as the demands of the Community required. The subsequent history of Buddhism in the island is given by Dr. Copleston at some length. The chief interest of the record lies in the picture of the origin and character of Buddhist sects, and of the intermixture of Buddhism and Hinduism. The author's residence in Ceylon has enabled him to give also valuable information concerning the present character and habits of the monks, and the relation of religion to the life of the people. English rule has brought European books and a veneering of European civilization, the result of which cannot be doubtful: the old will yield to the new, and Sinhalese culture will be civilized out of existence.

Just here Dr. Copleston's work is unsatisfactory. His main purpose, it is true, is to give a narrative of events, not an analysis of social phenomena. But it lay in his way to trace the elements of the popular life to their sources, to

tell us how much of it is heathen Ceylonese, how much Hindu, how much genuine or corrupted Buddhism. But of this he says substantially nothing, and thus fails to use the opportunity, which his exceptional position gave him, of contributing an interesting chapter to the history of general religious development. His failure to look into this question makes his conception of the popular morals hazy and wrong. He speaks almost as if he expected to see the moral life of a slovenly crew of monks and an uneducated peasantry transformed by the substitution of one religious creed for another. With all his real liberality and kindness, he seems not to understand the ethical history of Buddhism or the present moral problem of Ceylon.

We can give only a word to his long discussion of the Buddhist system of ethics. His estimate of Gotama's theory of life is discriminating and fair; in common with most modern writers, he praises it on some sides and condemns it on others. When he speaks of its actual working in society, he is not free from confusion of ideas. He does not see that a moral code is rather an abstract of the opinions of a man or a circle than an effective power, and depends almost wholly, for its influence, on the general training of the community in which it is found. We can no more speak of Buddhist than of Christian morals; these expressions may mean a hundred different things, according to the time and place with which they are connected. Pascal and Louis the Fourteenth were both Christians, but their lives had little in common on the ethical side. With the excellent dissertations that we have on the Buddhist moral ideal, it would be well if some one would give us an account, like Lecky's history of Christian morals, of the real moral life of various Buddhist communities under different social conditions. Dr. Copleston's comparisons between Christianity and Buddhism are generally fair. Of the two monastic systems he says that the distance between their ideals is infinite, one being the absolute negative, the other the infinite positive; but, on the moral side, are not the two equally positive and equally negative?

*The Campaign of Waterloo: A Military History.* By John Codman Ropes. Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo, pp. xlii, 401, with maps. Atlas to accompany the above, folio, published separately.

A NEW book on an old theme will always be welcome when it adds to our knowledge or helps us correct our errors. For both reasons Mr. Ropes's volume on Waterloo is entitled to a place among the standard histories of a great epoch. European writers on the Waterloo campaign have been numerous and able; but they are almost necessarily biased by national or personal predilections. Englishmen find it hard to do full justice to Blücher and the Prussians. Frenchmen are either idolaters of Napoleon or hate him with Bourbon persistency. Germans are prone to depreciate Wellington and to magnify the part played by Blücher's troops.

It was well, therefore, to have an American student of the campaign give an impartial and judicial analysis of the great conflict of authors as well as of generals, and to offer a connected narrative which should harmonize most of the testimony and eliminate many of the contradictions. No reader of Mr. Ropes's book will doubt that he has laboriously examined all the witnesses and tested all the theories. He has studied the topography on the ground, and

sought to find in it the clue to the solution of some doubts. He has given due weight to probable faults of memory, and shown a praiseworthy disposition to avoid imputations of dishonesty. In this way he has reached conclusions which may be fairly accepted as reasonable, and has given us a narrative which is probably more free from question than any one which has heretofore been published.

In this story none of the three great commanders appears as infallible. Napoleon is found to be clear in purpose and wise in plan; but he lacks the tireless energy which he had displayed in some of his earlier campaigns, and loses precious time after the battle of Ligny. Blücher's impetuous spirit and weaker intelligence lead him into trouble by accepting battle before arrangements for coöperation with the English had been completed. Wellington had to admit that the Emperor had stolen a march upon him, and had to make up by his splendid battle tactics and indomitable fighting for the faults of his first strategic combinations. The deficiencies of subordinates like Ney and Grouchy are reduced as nearly as may be to exact definition, so that their influence on the campaign may be given its just value.

In all these respects the author has done excellent critical work, and, without saying that his conclusions will stand as the final word in all respects, we may feel assured that the points are few in regard to which much room for difference will remain. He has taken infinite pains to marshal all the evidence and weigh all the argument, and the judicial calmness of his tone and the clearness of his statement carry the reader along with him.

The only direction in which further thought and investigation would seem to be profitable, is to be found in the effect of the political situation upon the conduct of Napoleon and upon the morale of his officers and men. To this we must attribute the absence of Davoust from the army and his assignment to the Ministry of War at Paris. Napoleon's reasons might well be such as he could not even discuss, for he would not choose to speak of the hollow support given him by French public opinion, and the need of a ruthless hand like that of the Marshal who had crushed Hanover, to hold Paris in check. To this also we must look for the causes of Ney's tardy appearance in the field, his excessive irritability, his readiness to quarrel with Napoleon, his half-insubordination, and his dissatisfaction even with himself. He was conscious of being in a false position, and this diminished his value as a soldier. For the same reason Napoleon could not treat either Grouchy or Ney as he would have done in one of his earlier campaigns. He had to respect their whims, to avoid division of their commands, to trust more to their judgment. The Empire must be reestablished by victory before the Emperor could resume his old omnipotence over the wills of men who were necessary to him. He had to assign Soult to duty as chief of staff, because Berthier had not joined him, and Berthier was the only man who could translate Napoleon's larger orders into the detailed order of the day without omissions or mistakes.

Marshal Macdonald's memoirs give us glimpses into the contrast between the army craze and the civil apathy which marked the Hundred Days; and every glimpse suggests much more than is told of the reaction of public opinion upon the Emperor and his army. A purely military history of that time is a false history, because the army was every moment under the influence of great moral causes which are thus ignored. This is the extra

chapter which we should be glad to have added to the strong and clear story of the strictly military events which our author has given us.

*The Nationalisation of Health.* By Havelock Ellis. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Putnam's.

THE legislation of all civilized countries recognizes that, in some degree, the State is responsible for the health of its citizens. The qualifications of physicians, the isolation of contagious disease, the oversight of tenements, of passenger ships and of food supplies, and the public relief of the sick poor are examples of this function whose propriety and whose exercise no one presumes to question. But the practice of domestic hygiene and the application of clinical medicine are with most people voluntary measures. Nevertheless, as the doctrine that public health is public wealth spreads, social economists are paying increased attention to problems that formerly devolved upon the individual, or that were disregarded as either unimportant or insoluble. Within the professional life of some practising physicians, typhoid fever was differentiated from typhus in France and in the United States, and about twenty years later the distinction was recognized in England. But how succeeding cases followed the first was not understood. Now most intelligent people know that a polluted water supply is the commonest agency in the multiplication of typhus as well as of cholera, and when matters become too bad, executive authority is invoked for relief. But as in spiritual, so in this form of physical, knowledge, there is often intellectual belief without personal conviction, and many a risk is run in dealing with unseen dangers because they are unseen. Did polluted water run red, contaminated air show green, and from a disease-bearing person or thing a luminous haze emanate, we should be a wiser if not a happier race. Sight and touch are not likely to lend their aid, and it is so much the more necessary to invoke the power of the law to crush dangers that science detects. Where that has already been done, the demonstrable saving of life warrants almost every conceivable interference with the liberty of the subject. The maternity mortality of 60 per 1,000 has been reduced to 2 in New York, and that of 55.5 to nothing in Boston, in hospital practice. Is it too much to compel those treating such cases in private life to make use of the precautions whose voluntary adoption in public institutions has led to such gratifying results?

The author of the plain-speaking but agreeable book that is the occasion of these reflections is, as perhaps he might best be, a layman representing the modern school of social economists to whom every facet in the jewel we style public welfare is worth polishing. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* hardly applies to the intelligent man of to-day. He hammers at his proper last within reasonable hours, and then takes up other work as an avocation in distinction from his vocation. The conditions of modern life so increase and intensify the community of interests and multiply the points of contact that great themes are profitably discussed from points of view which, a few years ago, had only theoretical existence. The angle of perception from some of these new stations reveals distinctly new relations, and the more completely we "bound" the territory of disease, the more likely are we to bring into subjection the *terra incognita* dreaded because unknown. Intelligent discussion, even if not al-

ways on purely technical lines, adds to the sum of knowledge and is welcome.

Speaking primarily for England, Mr. Ellis discusses unwholesome trades and dangerous industries, the place of the dentist (which is not doubtful to those who have observed the teeth of the lower-class English), some special physical ills, but particularly the relation of the hospital to the community. The constantly increasing application of the medical art through hospitals is lifting these institutions into a very different sphere from that of the old lazaret-house or the last resort of the indigent, where not so very long ago (as history is made) two and three patients would lie in one bed, and shelter, not air-space or cleanliness, was the desideratum. It is no wonder that a traditional dread of going to the hospital belongs to the heritage of poverty. The hospital of to-day is a palace of health, if not a paradise; and as the crowding of population swells their constituencies, the superb facilities of these establishments attract from a wider field than ever. No hospital properly so called can be self-supporting and fulfil its mission. Some specialists conduct a high grade of private hospital for the convenience of treating distant or difficult cases, where the fees create a revenue; but these are beside the question. The general hospital of to-day rests upon an endowment, either fixed by the income of the pious gifts of a past generation, or variable as it depends upon current aid from the public in its collective or its individual capacity—an appropriation by law or personal charity more or less spontaneous. Now these funds are so large and the interests involved are so great that Mr. Ellis, formulating what others have doubtless thought, suggests that it is proper that they should be taken under legislative control in a more direct sense than the ordinary guardianship of life and property implies. What he looks forward to is: "In the end every medical man in the country would be attached to a hospital, and every person should be living within the district of a great institution of health." The view is that of an advanced socialism in such matters, although not so denominated. Mr. Ellis is speaking primarily of England, where dispensaries, infirmaries, and hospitals, especially the two former, do not correspond to their synonyms with us, and where the conditions of life differ from ours.

A recent Parliamentary Committee proposes a central hospitals board to inspect all medical charities, to oversee their statistics, financial and vital, and to report on proposals for new hospitals in London. Apparently the author would attach such a board to the central authority, the County Council, so as to give it executive force; and he would place all hospitals on the same plane as those admirable ones for infectious diseases under the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which are one of the very best features of London administration. These hospitals, by removing the sick, assist in sterilizing the centres of infection; they take most excellent care of their patients, and, above all, they are gradually educating people into the feeling that treatment in hospital is not in itself a badge of dependent poverty, and that it may be a public duty to accept as well as to give public aid. We are not required to pursue British methods, but the general principle that the health of the nation is the nation's concern we ought constantly to keep before us. Just now the exclusion of imported epidemics is our own special charge. Mr. Ellis does not touch the matter of English quarantine jurisdiction, which is so much simpler than ours—quarantine, by the exigencies of commerce, having

been reduced to terms so very simple as to suggest danger. It is just on that ground, however, that our national Government has the opportunity to display its authority.

Mr. Ellis's pleasant volume may have been inspired by the great International Congress of Hygiene and Demography held in London twenty months ago, which excited the liveliest interest there, but whose echoes barely reached our people.

*British New Guinea.* By J. P. Thomson.

With map, numerous illustrations, and appendix. London: George Philip & Son. 1892. 8vo, pp. xviii., 336.

THE southeastern part of New Guinea was annexed by Great Britain to prevent it from falling into the hands of Holland or Germany, and in the sole interest of Australia, which naturally desired to hold the exclusive possession of the Torres Straits dividing the two countries. During the last four years Sir William MacGregor has been the administrator of the territory, and this book is mainly the result of his explorations as contained in his official reports. It does not appear that the author, Mr. J. P. Thomson, has visited any part of the island himself, and consequently his descriptions, though doubtless scientifically accurate, lack the vivacity and distinctness of the account of an eye-witness.

By implication rather than by any direct statement we gather that, as a Crown possession, New Guinea is still of little value. Traces of gold are numerous, but it has been found in paying quantities only in one outlying island. The principal part of the arable land contiguous to the sea-coast or on navigable streams is now under cultivation by the natives. In the interior are forests with valuable timber, but there are no means of bringing it to the coast. New Guinea lacks "indigenous and cultivated fruit," with the important exception, however, of bananas, thirty-six distinct varieties being cultivated on the island of Kiwai alone. Here, also, are twenty kinds of yams and ten of sweet potatoes. There are few animals—pigs, dogs, and kangaroos being the largest; and of these the pigs are the most valuable to the natives. "They are fondled and petted like lambs, the young being suckled at the breasts of women," while their market value "is occasionally equal to that of a human being." Many of the tribes are still head-hunters and cannibals, and live in continual warfare with their neighbors. Others, especially on the south coast, are gradually becoming in some degree civilized, and are developing propensities for trade. For the European, however, the climate "will always be a great hindrance to settlement and a constant menace to life."

There is very little that is new in Mr. Thomson's representations concerning the natives and their modes of life. Previous writers have made us familiar with the villages built on piles, the fighting platforms in the tree-tops, and the huge houses, often exceeding 500 feet in length, in which a whole tribe can be lodged. The same is true of Sir William MacGregor's successful ascent of Mount Victoria, the culminating peak of the Owen Stanley Range, to which he devotes a long chapter. Much valuable information, however, is contained in the appendix, in which there are scientific descriptions by different writers of the geology, the flora, fauna, and languages of this part of New Guinea. Of these the most important are the catalogue of insects, and the vocabularies from the various dialects, which

show that while some of the tribes can count but to five, others by constructive methods count to a thousand. The number of dialects is also remarkable, in some regions every village apparently having a distinct dialect of its own. There is, rather strangely, no account of the birds, though Mr. Thomson makes several references to their number and variety, especially of the birds of paradise.

The mechanical appearance of the volume is very attractive, its illustrations being numerous and excellent. There is, besides, a good index and a very clear map.

*Clarke Aspinall: A Biography.* By Walter Lewin. London: Edward W. Allen. 1893.

MR. LEWIN tells us in his preface that the permission to make this biography was granted, at his request, by the widow of Mr. Aspinall. But for this statement we should have imagined it inspired by conjugal or filial piety, with little hope of doing more than to furnish a narrow circle with the memoir of a genial friend. It is difficult to discover why a writer of Mr. Lewin's skill should have been drawn to Mr. Aspinall as a biographical subject. He was something of a local celebrity. Mr. Lewin thinks a quarter of a million people knew him by sight. His highest dignities were those of a coroner and a local magistrate and member of the Liverpool Town Council. His local magistracy was his most serious function, and in this his leaning was not to the side of mercy. Mr. Lewin has much to say about his wit and humor. They were not of a peculiar brilliancy or fineness. He was more jocose than either witty or humorous. Mr. Lewin, who as a biographer is nothing if not honest, does not disguise the fact that his hero's joking was in season and out of season, and that there were those who thought it oftener the latter than the former. One of his more favorable critics characterized his jokes as stale and rancid, and the samples given do not make us wish for more. If the best were such as these, the poorest must have been a weariness to those subjected to their constant puerility. The best of them is not so good as that told here of the reprobate of ninety-two summers who pleaded his being an orphan as a mitigating circumstance of his drunkenness.

Mr. Aspinall was one of a family that had other names in the history of Liverpool more celebrated than his own. His father was a clergyman, and he himself inclined at one time to this profession, but finally chose the law, and made an indifferent solicitor, spoiling a good barrister. His home was in the Liverpool suburb of Bebington, which is charmingly described in a quotation from Hawthorne's English note-book. The conscientiousness with which his various social functions are set down, from the Cathedral Restoration Fund to the mothers' tea-meeting, is funnier than any of his jokes. As if conscious of the meagreness of his material, Mr. Lewin has an introductory essay on the function of the biographer, which constitutes a somewhat too imposing entrance to the building into which it leads. After this essay there is a chapter on the history of Liverpool, which is far the most interesting in the book, especially as it deals largely with the slave trade, and shows how the material prosperity of Liverpool has twice seemed to depend on slavery. The modernness of Liverpool will be a surprise to many readers.

Mr. Lewin's book will certainly commend itself to Mr. Aspinall's immediate friends, though one here and there may object to its perfect candor. The best impression that it gives is

that there are thousands of men just as able and useful and kindly as Mr. Clarke Aspinall, if somewhat less jocose, whose biographies are never written.

*Studies by a Recluse in Cloister, Town, and Country.* By Augustus Jessopp, D.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1893.

HISTORY infuses life and purpose into archaeology, and archaeology gives color and exactness to history. The combination of the two produces a most attractive result when the stores of research are poured forth with vividness and without pedantry, and scenes from the life of by-gone ages are set before us, in which the larger outlines are broadly sketched by the historian and the details are filled in by the antiquary. It is this which constitutes at once the value and the charm of the somewhat miscellaneous collection of essays which the Rev. Dr. Jessopp has here gathered together. Full of kindly sympathy with the past, yet not losing touch with the present, informed with a never-failing sense of humor that no burrowing among musty records can quench, and couched in a lively and vigorous if somewhat discursive style, they present in a most attractive form the ripe results of research and scholarship. A few of the shorter ones, it is true, are scarcely more than occasional articles or addresses, but the more elaborate, such as "St. Albans and Her Historian," "The Origin and Growth of English Towns," and "The Land and Its Owners in Past Times," are valuable contributions to our knowledge of the past, and will bring a wholesome desire of learning more to many who would shrink from Dryasdust dissertations or learned diatribes on the origin and functions of the Gild Merchant. Some of the author's views may not meet with full acquiescence from students who have framed different theories about obscure and debatable points, but it has not come within his scope to indulge in controversy; he simply states his own opinions, which are evidently the outcome of abundant familiarity with facts and ability to use them. The little volume is popular in the best sense of the word, and no one with a taste for history will take it up without finding in it some hours of delightful reading and material for further reflection.

The danger of gathering together articles written at different times and from different standpoints is illustrated by the somewhat discordant descriptions of Pliny the Younger as a country gentleman (p. 198) and Pliny the Younger as a prig (p. 228), though both sketches are so clever that one would not willingly part with either.

*History of the English Parliament;* together with an account of the Parliaments of Scotland and Ireland. By G. Barnett Smith. Ward, Lock, Bowden & Co. 1892.

IT is hard to say what class of readers is to be served by this book. We do not understand that the author offers it as the result of any original research, or as containing any new contribution to our knowledge. On the other hand, two ponderous volumes of 500 or 600 pages each, written in a colorless style, and made up of selections and adaptations from the pages of many learned and judicious but somewhat painful scholars, do not correspond with the idea ordinarily entertained of a "popular" work. Nevertheless, if there are those who desire a history of Parliament apart from other institutions, they will find it here, and upon the whole very well presented. If Mr. Smith is

little more than a compiler, he at all events has the good sense to select the standard authorities for compilation; and as he claims no originality, he can hardly be blamed for using the language of others when it serves his purpose. Such a book is, of course, not to be measured by literary canons, and is perhaps better the more it contains that is not the author's own. As a narrative we should decidedly give the preference to Mr. Skottowe's 'Short History of Parliament,' reviewed in these columns some five or six years ago; but as a compendium of facts the present work is obviously far more complete.

As Mr. Smith has chosen the best authorities for the source of his materials, so he has followed them with good judgment and with accuracy. It would be possible to point out instances where he has gone astray through taking his learning at second-hand, but such instances, so far as our examination has extended, are surprisingly few. Some space is wasted in chronicling events in general history that have no proper connection with Parliamentary development, and in view of the bulk of the work this is a rather serious fault. But the temptation to wander from a dry subject to matters of human interest is so great that pardon must not be denied to those who yield to it occasionally. Upon the whole, Mr. Smith's arrangement is good, but his results are more satisfactory in the earlier period, where he is following a safe guide like Bishop Stubbs, than later, where the wisdom of a multitude of counsellors becomes perplexing. The account of the legislation of Parliament during Queen Victoria's reign is scarcely germane, and might well have been dispensed with. There are several interesting facsimiles of early writs, etc., in the book; and in the appendix are printed a translation of Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, lists of the Chancellors and Speakers, and other like matter. A tolerably full index makes the work available for reference, and it is for this purpose that it will be chiefly valuable.

*Das Kreditwesen der Staaten und Städte der Nordamerikanischen Union in seiner historischen Entwicklung.* Von Dr. Carl Copping Plehn. Jena: G. Fischer. 8vo, pp. 93.

A PRONOUNCED feature of our recent law-making is the increasing tendency to introduce into State constitutions either direct legislation, or provision for a popular "referendum." It is easy to see why the distrust of chosen representatives which such constitutional provisions imply found early expression in connection with the management of State credit. Nothing is easier for the average politician temporarily in office than to contract public debts; his successors may explain as they can. But the majority of our States and cities have learned by experience that credit wears out rapidly when over-used. Their experience is the topic of Dr. Plehn's study. He attempts to describe, both as to their origin and as to their results, those limitations of the debt-making power which we have been forced, for the rescue of public credit, to impose upon our elected representatives in State and city.

When Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road Bill threw upon the States the task of providing internal improvements, no States save New York and Pennsylvania had large debts, and State credit was uniformly good. When the surplus revenue was distributed, debts to the amount of 175 millions, contracted in the North chiefly for canals and railways, in the South chiefly for banks, already rested on the States,

and by 1842 the sum of their indebtedness had risen above 200 millions. State credit was nearly destroyed. The first limitation on the debt-making power of a State dates from the year 1842. It is the provision for a "referendum" in the Constitution of Rhode Island, art. iv, sec. 13. Mr. Oberholtzer is, therefore, in error in saying ('Law-making by Popular Vote,' *Annals of the Amer. Academy of Political Science*, vol. ii, p. 47), "another kind of Referendum was invented by Iowa . . . 1846," etc. The correction is worth making because it furnishes another illustration of the almost universal rule that important legislative tendencies originate in Eastern States and make their way West, not vice versa. Other States have followed Rhode Island's example, until in 1891 Dr. Plehn could count no less than 229 credit-limiting provisions in forty-four State constitutions. Only Vermont, Massachusetts, and Delaware leave both State and local governments free to contract such debts as they choose. The effect of these frequently drastic provisions upon State credit has been salutary. Since 1870 the sum of State indebtedness has steadily decreased, and, save where repudiation has taken place, the credit of the States is now good.

Precisely as Jackson's veto shifted the burden of internal improvements from the Union to the States, so the people's veto on the States shifted the burden to the towns and cities in the North and to the counties in the South. Local indebtedness began to grow soon after the war: in 1870 its sum was 515 millions, in 1880 it had risen to 822 millions. In the meantime the people were putting a stop to further local borrowing in the same way in which they had stopped State borrowing before. Our author, not having access to a collection of American city charters, was obliged to neglect the legal limitations on municipal debt-making contained in them, and to confine his attention to the constitutional limitations. His treatment of this phase of his subject is to that extent incomplete. In the constitutional limitations, however, he finds an adequate reason for the improvement in local credit which has taken place, and, while not denying that corruption and extravagance are responsible for a large share of existing city indebtedness, he is inclined to take, as the circumstances on the whole seem now to warrant, a more hopeful view than was prevalent ten years ago. He has studied the subject with evident diligence and from what we believe to be a new standpoint. On their administrative side the constitutional provisions in question have been discussed again and again, and the corruption thought to be their sole cause has been painted in colors of adequate strength; but their financial side has been neglected. That the average citizen who voted for them realized that they were necessary if credit was to be preserved, we do not understand the writer to say. But that they actually were a financial necessity, he distinctly shows.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Abbott, Evelyn. *Herodotus*, Books V. and VII. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Baird, Prof. Robert. *Greek-English Word-List*. Boston: Ginn & Co. 35 cents.  
 Boland, Mary A. *A Handbook of Invalid Cooking*. The Century Co.  
 Bright, J. W. *The Gospel of St. Luke in Anglo-Saxon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Brooks, Phillips. *Addresses*. Boston: Charles E. Brown & Co.  
 Browne, W. H. *Journal of the Maryland Convention, July 26—August 14, 1775. Journal and Correspondence of the Maryland Council of Safety, August 29, 1775—July 6, 1776*. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society.  
 Caird, Prof. Edward. *The Evolution of Religion*. 2 vols. Macmillan. \$4.  
 Calderwood, Prof. Henry. *Evolution and Man's Place in Nature*. Macmillan. \$2.  
 Castlemion, Harry. *Two Ways of Becoming a Hunter*. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Cox, H. and Lascelles, G. Coursing and Falconry. [Badminton Library.] London: Longmans, Green & Co.; Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$3.50.  
 Craik, Henry. English Prose Selections, with Critical Introduction. Vol. I, 14th to 16th Century. Macmillan. \$1.10.  
 Dickens, Mary A. A More Cypher. Macmillan. \$1.  
 Diehl, Mrs. A. M. Dr. Paul's Theory. Appletons.  
 Dixon, Margaret. Chronicles of Christopher Columbus in Twelve Cantos. New ed. Putnam. \$1.50.  
 Elliot, Frances. Diary of an Idle Woman in Constantinople. Appletons.  
 Gambrell, Rev. T. C. Studies in the Civil, Social and Ecclesiastical History of Early Maryland. Whittaker. \$1.50.  
 Ganse, Rev. H. D. Poems and Hymns. Chicago: Young Men's Era Publishing Co.  
 Garland, Hamlin. Prairie Folks. Chicago: F. J. Schulte & Co. 50 cents.  
 Gerspach, E. Répertoire Détaillé des Tapisseries des Gobelins Exécutées de 1662 à 1892. Histoire, Commentaires, Marques. Paris: A. Le Vasseur & Cie.  
 Gilbert, William of Colchester. On the Loadstone and Magnetic Bodies and on the Great Magnet the Earth. John Wiley & Sons. \$4.  
 Harris, W. T. The Theory of Education. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen. 15 cents.  
 Harper's Bazar. Vol. 25. 1892. Harpers.  
 Harper's Magazine. Vols. 84 and 85. 1892. Harpers.  
 Harper's Weekly. Vol. 36. 1892. Harpers.  
 Holder, C. F. Louis Agassiz, his Life and Work. [Leaders in Science.] Putnam. \$1.50.  
 Hyslop, Prof. J. H. Hume's Treatise on Morals, and Selections from the Treatise of the Passions. [The Ethical Series.] Boston: Gunn & Co. \$1.10.  
 Infantry Drill Regulations, U. S. Army. Army and Navy Journal.  
 Keith Deranmore. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.  
 Kleppert, Richard. Deutscher Kolonial Atlas. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.  
 Klien, Dr. Emil. Carlsbad: A Medico-Practical Guide. Putnam. 75 cents.

Kroeh, Prof. C. F. The Living Method for Learning How to Think in French. Hoboken, N. J.: The Author. Landreth, Burnet. Market Gardening and Farm Notes. Orange Judd Co. \$1.  
 Letters from South Africa. Reprinted from the London Times. Macmillan. 80 cents.  
 Lyon, W. S. Jules Verne's Expédition de la Jeune Hardie. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.  
 McDermott, F. L. The Last King of Yewie. Cassell. 50 cents.  
 Moore, F. F. "I Forbid the Banns!" Cassell. \$1.  
 Morris, W., and Magnusson, E. The Holmskringla. Vol. I. [The Saga Library.] London: Bernard Quaritch.  
 Moulton, Prof. R. G. Shakspeare as a Dramatic Artist. 8d ed., revised and enlarged. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. \$1.60.  
 Parton, James. General Jackson. [Great Commanders.] Appletons.  
 Perini, Prof. N. Dante's La Vita Nuova. London: Hachette & Co.; Boston: Schoenhof.  
 Pollard, A. W. Chaucer. [Literature Primers.] Macmillan. 35 cents.  
 Raymond, Prof. G. L. The Genesis of Art-Form. Putnam. \$2.25.  
 Real Cookery. Cassell. 50 cents.  
 Rehatek, E. The Raizat-us-Safa; or, Garden of Purity. Life of Muhammad the Apostle of Allah. Part II. 2 vols. London: Royal Asiatic Society; B. F. Stevens.  
 Rhoades, W. C. The Story of John Trevennick. Macmillan. \$1.  
 Richardson, Abby S. Familiar Talks on English Literature. New and revised ed. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.  
 Robinson's New Practical Arithmetic. American Book Co. 65 cents.  
 Robinson's New Primary Arithmetic. American Book Co. 18 cents.  
 Sayce, Prof. A. H. Records of the Past. Vol. VI. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons; New York: James Pott & Co. \$1.50.

Scott, Sir Walter. The Black Dwarf, and A Legend of Montrose. [Dryburgh Edition.] London: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan. \$1.25.  
 Scott, Sir W. Marmion. American Book Co. 20 cents.  
 Shutter, Rev. M. D. Wit and Humor of the Bible. Boston: Arena Publishing Co.  
 Siegvolk, Paul. The Ideal American Lady, and Other Essays. Putnam. \$1.50.  
 Sloane, Prof. W. M. The French War and the Revolution. [American History Series.] Scribners. \$1.25.  
 Smith, F. A. A. Keep Your Mouth Shut: A Popular Treatise on Mouth-Breathing. Boston: Roberts Bros. 50 cents.  
 Smith, Prof. H. P. Inspiration and Inferiency: A History and a Defence. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. \$1.50.  
 Society-List and Club Register, 1892-93. Brentanos. \$3.  
 Stebbins, Genevieve. Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics. E. S. Werner. \$1.50.  
 Stepping-Stones. George H. Allen Co.  
 Stock, St. George. Cicero's Laelius sive De Amicitia. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Super, Prof. O. B. Andersen's Märchen. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 90 cents.  
 Suttner, Bertha von. Lay Down your Arms. Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.75.  
 Taylor, Achilles. Sermonettes from Tennyson. Birmingham, Eng.: Midland Educational Co.  
 Ten Brink, Prof. B. Geschichte der Englischen Literatur. Zweiter Band. Bis zur Reformation. Zweite Hälfte. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.  
 The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford. 2d ed. Cassell. \$1.  
 The Statesman's Year-Book. 1893. Macmillan. \$3.  
 Valera, Juan. Commander Mendoza. Appletons.  
 Van Dyke, Prof. J. C. Art for Art's Sake: Seven University Lectures on the Technical Beauties of Painting. Scribners. \$1.50.  
 Wilson, Prof. Woodrow. Division and Reunion, 1829-1889. [Epochs of American History.] Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

## Pancoast's Representative English Literature.

Selections with Historical Connections. By HENRY S. PANCOAST, Instructor in the DeLancey School, Philadelphia. 12mo, 514 pp. To teachers, \$1.60; by mail, \$1.75.  
 Recognizing the good in both the old and the new way of teaching literature, this book puts the student into immediate contact with masterpieces, representative of great literary epochs, and, at the same time, supplies an illuminating account of the men and the time which produced them. It further impresses the truth that every epoch is but a link in a continuous and intelligible story of literary development.

## McLaughlin's Literary Criticisms for Students.

Edited by Prof. E. T. McLAUGHLIN of Yale. Selections from the masters of English criticism, chosen for their general suggestiveness in matters of literary taste, from Sir Philip Sidney, Ben Jonson, Dryden, Addison, Swift, Dr. Johnson, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Lamb, DeQuincy, Carlyle, Matthew Arnold, Lowell, Ruskin, R. H. Hutton, and Pater. 12mo. 256 pp. To teachers, \$1; by mail, \$1.10.

## HENRY HOLT & CO., N. Y.

### Economic History Since 1763.

Selections illustrating Economic History since the Seven Years' War. Compiled by BENJAMIN RAND, Ph.D. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo, pp. 567, \$3.00.

"It is admirably adapted for the end in view."—Prof. Farnham, Yale.

"It is worth more than is claimed for it."—President Andrews, Brown.

JOHN WILSON & SON,  
UNIVERSITY PRESS, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Letters We buy and sell bills of exchange on and make Cable Transfers of money to Europe, Australia, and the West Indies; also make collections and issue Commercial and Travelers' Credits, available in all parts of the world.

Brown Brothers & Co., Bankers,  
NO. 59 WALL STREET, NEW YORK.

SET OF THE NATION FOR SALE.—  
For particulars and price, address  
A. S. CLARK, 34 Park Row, N. Y. City.

## SPECIAL BRAIN FOOD & NERVE TONIC. CROSBY'S VITALIZED PHOSPHITES.

Composed of the Phosphoid Principle of the Ox Brain and Wheat Germ.

The very elements which produce vital force, increase brain power, sustain in vigor all the functions, prevent mental and nervous debility.

It is a vital nutrient phosphite, not a laboratory or acid phosphate. Formula on each label. Pamphlet with full information free on application to

56 West 25th Street, N. Y. F. Crosby Co.  
For sale by leading druggists.

## A GRAND COMBINATION.

### YALE MIXTURE FOR THE PIPE.

A Delightful Blend of St James Parish, Louisiana, Perique, Genuine Imported Turkish, Extra Bright Plug Cut, Extra Bright Long Cut, and Marburg Bros.' Celebrated Brand "Pickings."

Marburg Bros.

## Maine Coast.

LANDS at and around CAPE ROSIER and Castine, Me., on this boldest and most beautiful section of Penobscot Bay, 50 miles nearer Boston and the West than Mt. Desert—southwesterly exposures, fine harbor fronts, bold rocks, beaches, and fine trees, broad views of mountains and islands, extended drives along the shore and among the hills, new wharves, and good daily connection by boat and rail. These lands are offered at low prices to persons intending to build and occupy. A very few hundred dollars will buy a fine high shore lot of several acres. Several tracts of from 20 to 50 acres are offered at low prices. Send for descriptive pamphlet and further details to

J. MURRAY HOWE & BRADLEE,  
27 School Street, Boston.

WANTED.—A MAN OF EXPERIENCE and undoubted efficiency to push the circulation of five high-class periodicals, and to manage a department for the purchase and sale of books. Send full particulars to Box 5164, Boston, Mass.

## Dyspepsia

Dr. T. H. Andrews, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, says of

### Horsford's Acid Phosphate,

"A wonderful remedy, which gave me most gratifying results in the worst forms of dyspepsia."

It reaches various forms of Dyspepsia that no other Medicine seems to touch, assisting the weakened stomach, and making the process of digestion natural and easy.

Descriptive Pamphlet free on application to

Rumford Chemical Works, Providence, R. I.

Beware of Substitutes and Imitations.

For sale by all druggists.

HOMOEOPATHY. If you know, or don't know, what you want, write to us—we can supply the goods or the information. Our DESCRIPTIVE BOOK CATALOGUE gives the fullest information of the books of Homoeopathy; CONDENSED PRICE LIST gives prices of medicines, etc., and the HOMOEOPATHIC ENVOY (25 cents a year) gives reasons monthly why you should be a Homoeopath.

BOERICKE & TAFEL,  
Homoeopathic Pharmacists and Publishers,  
Established in 1835. 1011 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

50c.—Erickmann-Chatrion's 'Conscript,' 'Waterloo,' 'Polish Jew,' 'Blockade,' 'Bonaparte,' 'Great Invasion.' (Others.) PRATT, 155 6th Ave, N. Y.